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DEBATES

IN THE

EIGHTY-NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,

ON THE

BILL TO RATIFY AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

TRENTON, N. J.:

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DEBATES

ON THE

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

On Thursday, February 9th, MR. CLEAVER, of Essex, introduced the following bill;

An Act to ratify an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:* That the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed at the second session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, by a Resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, to the several State Legislatures, be, and the same is hereby, upon the part of this Legislature, RATIFIED, and made a part of the Constitution of the United States of America—said Amendment having been approved on the first day of February, A. D., eighteen hundred and sixty-five; and is in the following words, to wit:

ARTICLE XIII.

SEC. 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

The bill was read a first time, by its title, and referred to the Committee of the Judiciary.

Thursday, February 23d.—MR. L. ABBETT, of Hudson, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee reported the bill to the Assembly, with the following amendment:

2. *And be it enacted*, That this act shall be submitted to the People

at the next general election to be held in this State. The clerk of each city and township in the different election districts of this State shall provide at each Poll on said election day, a box in the usual form for the reception of the ballots herein provided: and each and every elector of this State may present a ballot, which shall be a paper ticket, on which shall be printed or written, or partly written and party printed, one of the following forms, "For the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States," or "Against the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States." The said ballots shall be so folded as to conceal the contents of the ballot, and shall be endorsed "Act to ratify an Amendment of the Constitution of the United States."

3. *And be it enacted*, That after finally closing the polls of such election, the Board of Election shall immediately and without adjournment proceed to count and canvass the ballots in relation to the proposed act, in the same manner as they are by law required to canvass the ballots given for Governor, and thereupon shall set down in writing and in words at full length, the whole number of votes given, "For the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States" and the whole number of votes "Against the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States," and certify and subscribe the same, and cause the copies thereof to be made, certified and delivered, as prescribed by law in respect to the canvass of votes given at an election for Governor. And all the provisions of "An Act to regulate elections," approved, April 16, 1846, and the supplements thereto, shall as far as applicable, apply to the submission of the People herein provided for.

4. *And be it enacted*, That this Act shall not become a law until it is ratified by the People, in pursuance of the Constitution and the provisions thereof.

5. *And be it enacted*, That this act shall take effect and become a law immediately after the People have ratified the same in the mode pointed out in this Act.

L. ABBETT, Chairman.
WM. M. ILIFF,
JAS. C. GOBLE.

Mr. Cleaver, of Essex, from the minority of the Judiciary Committee, presented the following report:

That, whereas, great legal uncertainty attends the proposition made by the majority of said Committee, to submit to a popular vote the Act ratifying the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as the same was proposed at the second session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress "to the several State Legislatures;"

And whereas, Congress has the clear and undoubted right to elect whether such ratification shall be by "the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof." (See Art. 5, of the Constitution of the United States).

And whereas Congress has *not* proposed that said ratification should be by "Convention," nor by a vote of the people, but *has* proposed and

elected that said ratification shall be by "the several State Legislatures:"

Therefore, and in order to remove all doubts touching the absolute and unconditional ratification of the said amendment to the Constitution of the United States, on the part of the State of New Jersey, and in order that the proposition of ratification, as made by Congress, may be acted upon by the body to whom it was remitted by Congress for that purpose—the minority of your Judiciary Committee recommend the passage of Assembly Bill No. 115, without amendment.

JAMES D. CLEAVER,
C. C. LATHROP.

FEBRUARY 23, 1865.

The bill and reports were ordered printed, and made the special order for Tuesday, February 28.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28.—The House of Assembly, after the expiration of the morning hour, proceeded to the consideration of the special order, being the reports of the Judiciary Committee, on the bill to ratify the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the question being on the agreement by the House, to the amendments proposed by the majority of the Committee.

After debate on the amendments, the question was taken on agreeing to said amendments, and it was decided in the negative as follows:

YEAS—L. Abbett, Allen, Anderson, Broking, Culver, Duryee, Edsell, Goble, Hoagland, Hoffman, Holmes, W. M. Iliff, Kinter, Schenck, Taylor, Van Buskirk, Van Vorst, Willever, Young—19.

NAYS—N. S. Abbott, Bates, Beesley, Birdsall, Blauvelt, Bodine, Boss, Brinck, Callahan, Cleaver, Cory, Coriell, Crowell, Demarest, Dickeson, Dougherty, Fisher, Green, Harrison, Heulings, W. J. Iliff, Irick, Jarrard, Lake, Landell, Lathrop, Lighthipe, Moore, Nicholson, Nixon, Peddie, Robison, Seiffert, Staats, Stockton, Van Wagoner, Weart, Wilson—38.

The bill was then read and agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

DEBATE.

The House met at half-past two o'clock on the same day, and proceeded to the consideration of the Bill to Ratify the Constitutional Amendment.

The bill was read a third time, and the question stated by the Speaker: "Shall this bill pass?"

Speech of Hon. P. C. Brinck.

Mr. Speaker:—I read from the 5th section of the Constitution of the United States, as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses of the 9th section of the first article; and that no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

By which it appears a plan has been provided for an alteration of that Constitution. The subject has been officially brought to our attention by the Executive of this State.

The only mode by which the Amendment under consideration can be ratified, so far as the State of New Jersey is concerned, is through this legislative body, conjointly. We cannot throw the responsibility (if we would) upon the people of the State.

I shall leave the discussion of this part of the question to the gentlemen who follow me, and assuming as a postulate, that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right, I would look into the right and wrong involved in the subject of slavery; that subject which has excited more interest than any other one question, for nearly half a century, and which has finally culminated in the most bloody civil war ever witnessed by man. I shall look at the subject in all its naked deformity; and thus strive to ascertain what is my duty, and what are our duties.

In all the events of life, whether we look at them in the individual or family relations, in the community in which we live; the State of which we form a part, or the great nation of which we are citizens, great and towering interests arise, which, for the time being—like "Pharoah's lean kine"—consume all others. Our thoughts, our sympathies, our affections, our interests, our very being, appear to centre in, and be absorbed by the paramount interest. When this is the case, we inquire of ourselves and our counsellors, what are our duties? I conceive that this train of thought has filled the anxious heart of millions in our land, during the past four years of our eventful history as a nation, while all have been endeavoring to answer this weighty question. The patriot sire,—the boy just upon the threshold of manhood—the matron, and the youthful maid, through all the endearing relationship of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, friend and acquaintance, have asked this question—hundreds of thousands have answered it, as they have parted—and the graves of an hundred battle fields, the maimed men by scores of thousands, the widows and

orphans—who mourn for husband and father. The father, who exclaims, with Israel's king, "O, Absalom! Absalom! My son! my son! would to God I had died for thee! O, Absalom my son! my son!" The mother who mourns as another Rachel, and "refuses to be comforted because her children are not." These, with hundreds of thousands now upon the bloody field of strife, have answered this question—as patriots and lovers of their country, they have answered the question, and to us, the question still comes up—what are our duties?

Two Classes.—1st. Then I look upon every patriot—not in the army and engaged in the work of blood—as either active workingmen or as drones in this great moral hive, and these workingmen as forming the great Northern wing of the patriot army, and from which, as reserves, the loss of those in active service are to be replaced. Also, moral support is needed in the public sentiment, to be manufactured, and then directed. This will vary, as circumstances may arise, and the thoughtful, prudent man, watching the ever changing events of the times in which we live, so shapes his course as to accomplish the result needed.

2d. Another class there are, such as are neither men or monkies—they are not patriots, or armed rebels; they are neither in favor of, or against the land of their birth. If they had lived in the days of the Revolution, they would have been known as tories and cow boys. They would have furnished the material for manufacturing into Benedict Arnolds. If they had lived during the war of 1812 and '15, they would have been found at the Hartford Convention, wearing cockades—but living in 1861 and '65, they are Southern sympathizers. Our country is divided into two classes: first, pure patriots; second, hermophraodite patriots, in the great moral hive. Of course, none but the first class are found among us—but it becomes necessary to take note of the other, that we may endeavor to convert them from the error of their ways.

Moral Support.—I ask then what is the nature of the moral support, which duty calls upon us to contribute to the cause of our country? I answer I conceive it to be, sinking self, and hiding self, and ignoring self, and losing self, in the folds of our glorious starry banner—the emblem of our nation's glory and greatness—that emblem under which millions have marched to the sanguinary field of strife, and beneath which scores of thousands have yielded up their lives, and other scores of thousands are waiting to pass through the same terrible baptism of blood. I say this self abnegation, this pure patriotism, this earnestness, only found in the patriot, and that sentiment adopted by the Christian martyr, as he exclaims, "I count all things but loss for Christ, &c;" so should the patriot say, while his country is in jeopardy—I count all things of small value, compared with the interest of my country, and all its demands must be met, if sacrifices more than any yet made, are demanded of me. Among these sacrifices, may be named one which is of least worth, and yet we find it clinging to us with great tenacity. It is pride of opinion; the strong disposition we find to adhere to a favorite theory, when, if we will but look back, we shall find that we have changed again and again, until we scarcely know ourselves, as com-

pared with what we were but a few years ago. Again, we shall be called upon to combat erroneous opinions in others; we are called upon to stand up as with a brow of adamant, and confront the adversaries of the government, and even the administration, for this is the government for the time being. We shall be called upon to contribute our means, our labor, our toil, our time, and this will cost us something. The old Jewish King was not willing to serve his God, with what cost him nothing, and we may not hope to serve our country and enjoy this glorious heritage without cost to ourselves of treasure, of time, yea, perhaps of life itself.

This train of thought might be followed out to great length, leading us in a word, almost to lose our very personal identity, if it stood in the way of the advancement of those national interests, which our connection with this body would indicate—we may make the application for ourselves, and so calculate the measure of our patriotism. Man is naturally a selfish being—this must be made subservient to higher, and holier interests, for this is the demand of the hour.

I hope we are keenly alive to the vast importance of so shaping our course, so laying our plans, so perfecting all our work, as to accomplish results commensurate with the great responsibility resting upon us. If the view I take of this question be correct, and I am borne out in this opinion by the best, and ablest men of the nation, the position we occupy is one of vast importance. Hence, I argue, it becomes us to present an unbroken front, to act in perfect harmony, to drop all difference of a minor character, to remember that in the language of inspiration, "every house divided against itself shall fall,"—that our cause at this time is of too much value to jeopardize in the slightest degree, any of the many interests which, to an extent, are committed to our keeping. I look upon the responsibility resting upon every true man, at this time, as something which cannot be laid aside at convenience; all are enlisted for the war—even after the bloody battle fields shall no longer resound with the strife of combat, when the green grass shall have covered the graves of our glorious martyred dead; and when even the habiliments of mourning shall be put off, even then will be continued the war of opinion, the conflict of mind with mind, the moral contests of reconstruction, of confiscation, of finance, of public debt, of rebel property, of rebel debt—in a word, restocking our glorious inheritance, and refurnishing our glorious Temple of Liberty, perpetuated at such a price of blood, tears, groans, sorrow, graves, and the loss of so much treasure.

There will be work enough, and responsibility enough for every true man for many long years to come. For this continent has been given to us, and a worse woe will come upon us if we prove unfaithful to the trust thus reposed. I now propose to call in a few testimonials for consideration in the discussion of the "Constitutional Amendment" upon the subject of human slavery.

Southern Testimony.—I shall refer to Southern men and slave holders, many of whose names have become as household words, and whose memories we revere—some of whom are Washington, Jefferson, Madi-

son, Monroe, Patrick Henry, Randolph, Clay, Benton and others.

George Washington.—In a letter to John F. Mercer, dated September 9th, 1786, General Washington says:

"I never mean unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery, in this country, may be abolished by law."

In a letter to Robert Morris, April 12, 1786, he says: "I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say, that there is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by Legislative authority; and this, so far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."

He says in a letter, April 5th, 1783, to the Marquis de Lafayette: "The scheme, my dear Marquis, which you propose, as a precedent, to encourage the emancipation of the black people in this country from the state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart."

From his last will and testament the following extract is made:

"Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves which I hold in my own right, *shall receive their freedom.* To emancipate them during her life, would, *though earnestly wished by me,* be attended with such inseperable difficulties, on account of their inter mixture by marriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensation—it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them."

It is said that "when Mrs. Washington learned, from the will of her deceased husband, that the only obstacle to the immediate perfection of this provision, was her right of dower, she at once gave it up, and the slaves were made free."

Jefferson.—Let us now hear what the author of the Declaration of Independence says. On the 39th and 40th pages of his "Notes on Virginia," Jefferson says:

"There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the gem of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no other motive either in his philantrophy, or his self love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slaves, it should always be a sufficient one, that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose rein to the worst kind of passions, and, thus nursed, edu-

cated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it, with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy, who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the *morals* of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other; for if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other, in preference to that in which he was born to live and labor for another; in which he must look up to the faculties of his nature to contribute, as far as depends upon his individual endeavours, to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, then industry is also destroyed; for in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed, are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God?—that they are not to be violated but by his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

In another letter written to a friend in 1814, he says:

"Your favor of July 31st was duly received, and read with peculiar pleasure. The sentiments do honor to the head and heart of the writer. Mine on the subject of the slavery of negroes have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice and the love of country—plead equally the cause of these people, and it is a reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain."

Again he says:

"What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty; and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow man a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose."

In the first quotation from Jefferson's work, he spoke of the blacks as *citizens*. Now he speaks of them as *brethren*. He further says:

"We must wait with patience the workings of an over-ruling Providence, and hope that, that is preparing the deliverance of these *our brethren*. When the measure of their tears is full, when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress. Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate, than that this people shall be free."

Thus wrote and spoke Thomas Jefferson, who, so-called Democrats,

quote as the founder of their party. I make but a single quotation more from Mr. Jefferson. In a letter to James Heaton, on the same subject, May 20th, 1826,—only six weeks before his death, he says:

"My sentiments have been forty years before the public. Had I repeated them forty times, they would have only become the more stale and threadbare. Although I shall not live to see them consumated, they will not die with me."

Madison.—I now beg leave to call attention to the sentiments of Madison on this subject. In the 42d No. of the *Federalist*, he said:

"It ought to be considered as a great point gained in favor of humanity, that a period of twenty years may terminate forever within these States, a traffic which has so long and so loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy; that within that period it will receive considerable discouragement from the Federal Government, and may be totally abolished by a concurrence of the few States which continue the unnatural traffic, in the prohibitory example which has been given by so great a majority of the Union."

He further says: "Where slavery exists, the Republican theory becomes still more fallacious."

He says again: "We have seen the mere distinction of color made, in the most enlightened period of time, a ground of the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man."

Monroe, in a speech in the Virginia Convention, said:

"We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed."

Patrick Henry, in a letter dated January 18, 1773, asks:

"Is it not a little surprising that the professors of christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart, in cherishing an dimproving the finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong? What adds to the wonder is that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages. Times that seem to have pretentions to boast of high improvements in the arts and sciences, and refined morality, have brought into general use, and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors detested. Is it not amazing that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision in a country above all others fond of liberty, that in such an age and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most mild, humane, gentle, and generous, adopting such a principle, as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty? Every thinking, honest man, rejects it in speculation. How free in practice from conscientious motives! would any one believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devour to virtue as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them. I believe a time

will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil. Everything we can do, is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves a pity for their unhappy lot, and an abhorence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity. It is the furthest advance we can make towards justice. It is a debt we owe the purity of our religion—to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery."

This great orator further says:

"It would rejoice my very soul that every one of my fellow beings was emancipated. We ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow men in bondage. Believe me, I shall honor the Quakers for their noble efforts to abolish slavery."

John Randolph, of Roanoke.—In a letter to Wm. Gibbons, in 1820, says:

"With unfeigned respect and regard, and as sincere a deprecation of the extension of slavery and its horrors, as any other man—be him whom he may. I am your friend, in the literal sense of that much abused word. I say much abused, because it is applied to the leagues of vice and avarice and ambition, instead of good will towards man from love of Him who is the Prince of Peace."

When in Congress, he said: "Sir I neither envy the heart or the head of that man from the North who rises here to defend slavery upon principle."

It is well known that he emancipated all his negroes. An extract from his last will, says: "I give to my slaves their freedom to which my conscience tells me they are justly entitled. It has a long time been a matter of the deepest regret to me that the circumstances, under which I inherited them, and the obstacles thrown in the way by the laws of the land, have prevented my emancipating them in my life time."

Thomas Jefferson Randolph, said in the Legislature of Virginia, in 1832: "The gentleman has spoken of the increase of the female slaves being a part of the profit. It is admitted; it may be questioned how far it is desirable to foster and encourage this branch of profit. It is a practice and an increasing practice in parts of Virginia, to rear slaves for market. How can an honorable mind, a patriot and lover of his country, bear to see this ancient Dominion, rendered illustrious by the noble devotion and patriotism of her sons in the cause of liberty, converted into one grand meangerie, where men are to be reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles? Is it better, is it not worse, than the slave trade? That trade which enlisted the labor of the good and wise of every creed, and of every clime to abolish it? The ties of father, mother, husband and child, have all been rent in twain; before he receives him, his soul has become callous. But here, sir, individuals whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mothers' arms and sells them into a strange country, among a strange people, subject to cruel task-masters.

"He has attempted to justify slavery here, because it exists in Africa, and has stated that it exists all over the world. Upon the same principle he could justify Mehomedism, with its plurality of wives, petty wars for plunder, robbery and murder, or any other of the abominations and enormities of savage tribes. Does slavery exist in any part of civilized Europe? No sir, in no part of it."

The Voice of Henry Clay.—He says, in the U. S. Senate in 1850: "So long as God allow the vital current to flow through my veins I will never, never, never, by word or thonght, by mind or will, aid in admitting one rod of free territory *to the everlasting curse of human bondage.*"

Benton says, in a speech delivered in St. Louis, Nov. 3, 1856: "I look at white people and not at black ones; I look to the peace and reputation of the race to which I belong; I look to the peae of this land, the world's last hope of a free government on earth. One of the occasions on which I saw Henry Clay rise higher than I thought I ever saw him before, was when in the debate on the admission of California, a dissolution was apprehended if slavery was not carrid into the territory, where it never was. Then Mr. Clay rising, loomed collassally in the Senate of the United States, as he rose declaring that for no earthly purpose, no earthly object, could he carry slavery into places where it did not exist before. It was a proud day for Mr. Clay towards the latter days of his life—his countenance all alive and luminous with the ideas that beat in his bosom. That was a proud day. I wished that I had spoken the same words. I speak them now, telling you that they were his, and adopting them as my own."

Mason, of Virginia, a member among the leading and distinguished men, who was one engaged in forming the Constitution, said: "Slavery discourages art and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the emigration of whites; they produce a most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country (prophetic words!) As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in another world, they must in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities."

Gov. McDowell, of Virginia, in 1832, in the Legislature, says: "Who that looks to this unhappy bondage of an unhappy people, in the midst of our society, and thinks of its incidents and issues, but weeps over it as a curse as great upon him who inflicts it as upon him who suffers it? Sir, you may place the slave where you please—you may dry up to the uttermost, the fountains of his feelings, the springs of his thought—you may close upon his mind every avenue of knowledge and cloud it over with artificial night—you may yoke him to your labors as an ox, which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live—you may put him under any process, which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being—you may do this, and the idea he was born to be free will survive it all. It is a torch lit up in his soul by the hands of Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man."

Judge Iredell, of North Carolina, when in the North Carolina Convention, said:

"When the entire abolition of slavery takes place, it will be an event which must be pleasing to every generous mind, and every friend of human nature."

Leigh, of Virginia, said in the Legislature, in 1832:

"I thought, till very lately, that it was known to every body that during the Revolution, and for many years after, the abolition of slavery was a favorite topic with many of our ablest statesmen, who entertained with respect all the schemes which wisdom or ingenuity could suggest for its accomplishment."

Bolling, of Virginia, said in the Legislature, in 1832:

"The time will come, and it may be sooner than many are willing to believe, when this oppressed and degraded race cannot be held as they now are; when a change will be effected, abhorrent, Mr. Speaker, to you, and to the feelings of every good man.

"The wounded adder will recoil, and sting the foot that tramples upon it. The day is fast approaching, when those who oppose all action upon this subject, and, instead of aiding in devising some feasable plan for freeing their country from an acknowledged curse, cry '*impossible*' to every plan suggested, will curse then and lament their folly."

Mr. McLane, of Delaware, member of Congress in 1825, said:

"I shall not imitate the example of other gentlemen by making profession of my love of liberty, and abhorrence of slavery, not, however, because I do not entertain them. I am an enemy to slavery."

Luther Martin, of Maryland, in 1787 said:

"Slavery is unconsistent with the genius of Republicanism, and has a tendency to destroy those principles on which it is supported, as it lessons the sense of the equal rights of mankind, and habituates us to tyranny and oppression."

Benjamin Swaim, of North Carolina, said in 1830:

"Is it nothing to us, that seventeen hundred thousand of the people of our country are doomed illegally to the most abject and vile slavery that was ever tolerated on the face of the earth? Are Carolinians deaf to the piercing cries of humanity? Are they insensible to the demands of justice? Let a man of spirit and feeling for a moment cast his thoughts over the land of slavery, think of the nakedness of some, the hungry yearnings of others, the flowing tears and heaving sighs of parting relations, the wailings of lamentation and over the bloody cut of the keen lash, and the frightful scream that rends the very skies. And all this to gratify the ambition, lust, pride, avarice vanity, and other depraved feelings of the human heart. Indeed the worst is not generally known. Were all the miseries, the horrors of slavery, to burst at once into view, a peal of seven-fold thunder could scarcely strike greater alarm."

Hon. Mr. Reed of Georgia, in a speech in Congress, Feb. 1, 1820:—

"I am not the paneygrist of slavery. It is an unnatural state—a dark cloud, which obscures half the lustre of our free institutions. For my

own part, though surrounded by slavery from my cradle to the present moment, yet—

"I hate the touch of servile hands;
I loathe the slaves who cringe around."

Here I close the testimonies I have gathered from Southern men and slave-holders—but, few from the great mass which might be presented, if more were needed.

I now beg leave Mr. Speaker, to introduce testimony from the churches of different denominations in this and other lands, and begin with the

Presbyterian Church.—Rev. Albert Barnes, well known all over the land says: "The spirit of the New Testament is against slavery, and the principles of the New Testament. No man therein is commanded to purchase and own a slave; no man is commanded as adding any thing to the evidences of Christianity, or as performing the appropriate character of a Christian for owning one. Nowhere in the New Testament is the institution referred to as a good one; it is almost universally conceded that the proper application of the principles of the New Testament would abolish slavery everywhere, or that, the state of things which will exist when the Gospel shall be fairly applied to all the relations of life, slavery will not be found among those relations.

"Let slavery be removed from the Church, and let the voice of the Church, with one accord be lifted up in favor of freedom."

Episcopal Testimony.—Bishop Porteus, says: "The Bible classes men-stealers or slave-traders, among the murderers of fathers and mothers, and the most profane criminals on earth."

The celebrated commentator, Thomas Scott, says: "To number the persons of men, with beasts, sheep and horses, as the stock of a farm, or with bales of goods, as the cargo of a ship, is no doubt a most detestable and anti-christian practice."

Baptist Testimony.—The Rev. Wm. H. Brisbane, once a slave-holding Baptist in South Carolina, says: "Paul was speaking of the law having been made for man-stealers. Where is the record of that law? It is Exodus, xxi, 16: in these words, 'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his possession he shall surely be put to death.' Here it will be perceived that it was a crime to sell the man, for which the seller must suffer death. But it was no less a crime to hold him as a slave, for this also was punishable with death—so when one man steals another and offers him for sale, no one, in view of the divine law, can buy him, for the reason that the Divine law forbids that man shall in the first place be made a merchantable article. Now when Paul said the law was made for man-stealers, was it not also saying the law was made for slave-holders? I am not intending to apply this term in a harsh spirit. But I am bound, as I fear God, to speak what I am satisfied is the true meaning of the apostle."

Methodist Testimony.—John Wesley says: "Men buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers."

Again, he says: "American slavery is the vilest that ever saw the sun; it constitutes the sum of all villainies."

I shall now close these testimonies by making an extract from *Roman Catholic authority.*—"About twenty-seven years ago Pope Gregory XVI, immortalized himself by issuing his famous Bull against slavery, from which I extract the following:

"Placed as we are on the Supreme seat of the Apostles, and acting, though by no merits of our own, vice-gerent of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who through His great mercy, condescended to make himself man, and died for the redemption of the world we regard as a duty devolving on our pastoral functions, that we endeavor to turn aside our faithful flocks entirely from the unhuman trafic in negroes or any human beings whatever. In progress of time, as the clouds of human superstition become gradually dispersed, circumstances reached that point, that during several centuries there were no slaves allowed among the great majority of christian nations; but with grief we are compelled to add, that there afterwards arose, even among the faithful, a race of men, who basely blinded by the appetite and desire of sordid lucre, did not hesitate to reduce, in remote regions of the earth, Indians, negroes and other wretched beings to the misery of slavery; or, finding the trade established, to assist the shameful crime of others.

Nor did many of the most glorious of the Roman Pontiffs omit to severely reprove their conduct as injurious to their souls health, and disgraceful to the christian name. Whereupon we, desiring to avert this disgrace from the whole confines of christianity, having summoned several of our venerable brothers, their Eminencies the Cardinals of the H. R. Church, to our council, and, having maturely deliberated on the whole matter, pursuing the footsteps of our predecessors, admonished by our apostolic authority, and urgently invoke in the Lord, all christians of whatever condition, that none henceforth dare to subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or dispoil of their goods, Indians, negroes, or other classes of men, or be accessories to others or furnish them aid or assistance in so doing; and on no account henceforth to exercise that inhuman trafic by which negroes are reduced to slavery, as if they were not men, but antamata or chattels, and are sold in defiance of all the laws of justice and humanity, and devoted to severe and intolerable labors.

"And finally, that these our letters may be rendered more apparent to all, and that no person may allege any ignorance thereof, we decree and order that it shall be published according to custom, and copies thereof be properly affixed to the gates of St. Peter and of the Apostolic Church, every and in like manner to the General Court of Mount Citatorio, and in the field of Campus Floræ and also throuh the city by one of our heralds, according to the aforesaid custom.

"Given at Rome, at the Palace of Santa Marie Major, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the 3rd day of December, 1837, and in the 9th year of our Pontificate.

"Countersigned by Cardinal A. LAMBRUSCHINI."

And now, Mr. Speaker, in advocating the passage of this resolution, I feel that I engage in the advocacy of a measure, the importance of

which, at this juncture in our national history, as far exceeds that of any of the ordinary, or even extraordinary questions, that have ever been presented for the consideration of any State or National Assembly, as does the blaze of the mid-day sun, exceed the twinkling of the mid-night star. Not, because other questions, for the time being, at least, have not been paramount in importance, in their sphere, but because none have been so far reaching in their final results; none have so largely involved, not only the well-being of the nation, but of the whole world, not only the temporal, but the eternal well-being of millions populating this and other lands; but also, of unborn myriads for ages yet to come! for this question involves the physical, mental, moral and intellectual; it takes within its grasp the white man as well as the black, and says to each one, you cannot escape the consequences of this question; it has been forced upon you individually, you must meet it.

The resolution we are called to act upon, contains unmixed and unalloyed good; and were the question now for the first time to be presented to the members of this House, as individuals; were it not viewed by many as a political question; had not the passions and prejudices of many been awakened, their better nature would prevail, and they would hasten to contribute their aid in carrying out a measure so fraught with good, and Mr. Speaker, until the vote is taken and decided to the contrary, I shall look for the good angel of human nature, to prevail over the evil.

Introduction of Slavery.—In looking back to the shadowy past, I find that slavery first appeared in our country in 1620 (in that State through which the terrible ploughshare of war has made deeper furrows than perhaps anywhere else), when 20 slaves were landed in Virginia from a Dutch vessel; from this small beginning has grown up the most stupendous system of human bondage ever witnessed by our sin cursed earth. Let us look at it in some of its parts—has it been flourishing in our very midst? Have our hands handled it? Have our eyes looked upon it? Have our ears been saluted with its groans? Have we looked upon the desolation it has brought upon hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens, who have lived, died and been buried, with this moral monster following them in life, surrounding their death-bed and following them to the grave? And before the question is put and decided, I take a hasty retrospect of the past. I would look into this subject of human slavery and see if I can trace any of the lineaments of its Divine author—if it be a divine institution, as is claimed for it by some of its admirers. I would speak of some of the causes which have contributed so largely to bring the question before our nation, and give it so much interest in the eyes of the world.

Its moral aspects.—I propose to view this from a moral stand-point, as a christian man addressing christian men; as a lover of his country addressing those in whose breast burn the fires of patriotism, and not of a partizanship; as a serious man addressing serious men to whom in this emergency have been committed interests, which will live to bless us when we are no more known among the children of men, or to curse our memories, long years after we are laid beneath the sods of the

valley. Our responsibilities to the nation are great, our responsibilities to the God of truth and justice are greater.

Let us now glance at the moral aspect of affairs. This can only be done fairly by looking at it in the stromg light of contrast. Let me ask, what was our condition, and what ground did we occupy on that subject which a great and good man designated "as the sum of all villainies." His giant intellect had computed all the crimes of our sin-cursed earth—and in estimating all—the vast columns reach our shores, and added up "the sum of all villainies" in the crime of our American Slavery. Have we ever thought of its enormity? Do we understand its wickedness? Have we ever attempted, with the plummet line of imagination, to fathom its depths of infamy? Let us look at it—into it. But as it is difficult to look at ourselves and pass judgment on our own actions, let us adopt the language of the Scotch poet, who wished

"That some spirit the power would gie us
To see ourselves as others see us."

Let us accordingly take our stand-point among the monarchies of Europe, in the midst of these great centres of good, as well as evil, and look over the land of boasted liberty, independence, civil and religious good; the land of bibles and churches, of schools and free speech, of an unfettered press; the land of broad acres scattered over tens of thousands of miles, the land watered by vast rivers extending from the ocean thousands of miles; the land where there are twenty-five millions of sovereigns, the land where every man may sit under his own vine and fig tree "none daring to molest or make him afraid," the land over which Washington had presided as its Chief Magistrate, the land where the starry banner floats with its thirty-three States bathed in azure blue,

"Columbia, the land of the free
And the home of the brave."

I say let us look at this land from an European stand-point, as we see the eyes of the christian and civilized world gazing upon the land of Washington, and with wondering looks, they ask, as they hear the cry of agony coming up from the dark-skinned dwellers of the Southern States of the Great Republic. What means the block of the auctioneer, as man, woman and child is sold in hopeless bondage?—Why are husband and wife forever separated? Why is the child torn from the poor hapless mother? Why is every tie ruthlessly broken assunder, and none of the relationships of life recognized? What means the drove of chained victims, as beneath the crack of the slave driver's whip, they take up their terrible march towards a new and untried bondage? Yet these are sights which all have looked upon, these are cries which have been heard for a century. The only response to these questions is: This is American Slavery!

But reports of more unnatural crimes are borne across the waters. The child of the slave mother is sold by its brutal father, by its half brother, aye its half sister; the crime of incest with all its brutal accompaniments has become as common, as the whipping of women, the

separation of husband and wife, parent and child; the utter destruction of female virtue, not by the seducers power, but by the right of might, add their testimony to the long catalogue of crime against the laws of God and man; while the beautiful among the flock, many vieing with the fairest in the land, are saved for a worse, infinitely worse, fate than the Turkish bondage of the Csrcassian; and thus every crime known to man is piled on crime, as greed, and avarice, and lust, with every debasing passion of man in his most brutal state, until a vast pyramid of iniquity has grown up, and casts its deadly shadow over all the land!

Not to be found elsewhere.—But asks one: "Have not other Christian Nations Slavery in forms as dark as this picture you have drawn?" Well, let us see, What of England? No slaves treads its shores.—France has no slave market. The great German powers have no slave drivers—the crack of his whip, and the clank of his chain is not heard there.

Let us turn to Russia, and ask the Great Northern Bear, upon whom we have looked as a semi-barbarous nation, only however, because of its serfdom, the response we have is, "We are freeing our serfs, and have been engaged in this work for the last six years. But our serfdom is a mild apprenticeship, compared with the hapless sons and daughters of Africa in your midst. Our serfs are never sent into bondage. Our sons and daughters were never sold upon the auction block for glittering gold." We turn to Spain, regarding that as a sort of buckaneering nation, and look for this "sum of all villainies," but learn that only in some of its colonies, is to be found the infernal system, side by side, as the shadow from the pyramid of American Slavery falls upon and gives character to it, upon the Island of Cuba. No slave's foot track is found on European soil. The accursed system is too black for the intelligence, and I may say, the piety of the despots and monarchs of Europe.

Let us now take up our march to other lands, and coming to Turkey, where the religion of the false prophets prevails, as taught by the Koran, but we fail to find a nearer approach to our accursed system than the purchase of Circassian females for wives of the faithful, where poligamy is allowed. We cross over into Egypt, where 4,000 years ago, a nation living in bondage, (but not in that early history of our sin-cursed earth was there any approach to the American Slavery of the Nineteenth Century of the Christian Era,) was "delivered with a high hand and an outstretched arm." The last mild form prevailing there was abolished a quarter of a century ago, as the sentiment of that heathen ruler could not tolerate a system of so much cruelty! We look further, into Africa, but look in vain for such a slavery as grows and flourishes, nurtured under, and resting beneath the tree of liberty; planted by the pilgrim fathers, and watered with the blood of revolutionary sires. A mild form of slavery is found in South America, but it is giving way under the reign of the Emperor of Brazil. Our journey through Europe, a part of Asia, Africa, and back to the Western Continent, fails to discover the parallel of a system flourishing until its value in the souls and bodies of men is esti-

mated at 3,000 millions of money! But *might is right*—gold glitters, drawn from the life-blood of the helpless slave; and prosperity unparalleled is ours! But enough on this head. The shadows of night have settled upon it; the dark clouds of a terrible tempest are coming; the muttering thunders of the Almighty are heard; the lightnings of an avenging God are playing about the head of this monster. Oh, that we may but hide ourselves until these calamities be overpast. But we cannot escape the peltings of this pitiless storm.

Who are its Apologists?—Strange as it may seem, this God-forsaken system has its apologists; they are found in the dark land of Ham, because the pagans of that country have a market for (not their children), but for captives taken in war. It has an apologist in some of the buccaneering Isles of the ocean, because it brings a revenue to her Spanish Majesty! It finds apologists in the crew of the pirate slave ship, because it brings Spanish dollars to their coffers! It finds apologists among the low grogeries of the new world, as the denizens of Five Points festering in crime and filth, shout "death to the nagers, down with the abolishiners!" It finds apologists among the vile, ignorant and besotted, where such most do congregate. It finds apologists along the wharves and alleys, and mingling among the bacchanalion songs of the midnight debauchee. It finds apologists among the prisons and jails of our great cities. It finds apologists among many of the dealers in Southern wares, who neither know, or care for ought, but filthy lucre. It finds apologists among the rattle-brained of the legal fraternity. It finds apologists among the rattle-brained in the church, as they exhort, "servants to be subject to their own masters!" It finds apologists among the youth of our colleges, as they learn the shibboleth from their chums, the chivalry of the South.

But apologists do not stop here, they are found in our courts of justice! They even mount up to the Supreme Court of the United States, and a voice comes from the ermined Chief Justice as he proclaims, "That he (the negro) has no rights the white man is bound to respect!" For this language, the name of Chief Justice Taney will go down to posterity, bearing a stain upon it, growing blacker and blacker, as year after year revolves in their solemn tread towards the years beyond the flood.

But the black catalogue of apologists are yet found as we take a step higher up—when we look for light from the eternal hills, and expect here to find purity; but the awful shadow of the pyramid of slavery has darkened the head, and hardened the heart of the ecclesiastic, as the Bishop of Vermont (Hopkins) pleads for American Slavery as a "Divine institution." I would now pause and ask, have we an apologist here to-day? I hope not. This much for the apologists of this system of American Slavery *among us*.

I look now at our condition in the fall and winter preceding the 4th of March, 1861. War had actually been raging for months before the President elect was inaugurated; not in pitch battles, but in all the acts of war. As a nation we were utterly defenceless and without the first preparation for a mighty conflict—our navy scattered, our arms

and munitions of war stolen; our Treasury bankrupt, our small army in Texas, and upon distant Indian Territories—thanks to Floyd, Toucey, Thompson, Cobb, and last but not least, James Buchanan, into whose hands the interests of the nation had been committed.

We were assailed by paracides who had been plotting treason for a generation. In our own midst were to be found traitors and sympathizers; they were everywhere. When we looked for sympathy from Christian England, we looked in vain. All turned from us—none cared for us—all "laughed at our calamity, and mocked when fear came upon us." We were threatened with a foreign, as well as a domestic war. But some how, God only knows, we soon had an army and a navy!—We found men rushing to arms by hundreds of thousands. Arms and munitions of war appeared to come at our bid; a vast navy sprung into being almost by magic; the whole North became one great workshop; the Southern border States one vast battle field. At the same time the agricnltural, manufacturing and commercial interests of the nation began to flourish as in the palmiest days of the Republic. Yea, in some departments, far exceeded anything in our history. Even emigration became greater than for many years immediately preceding the war, all as unparalled as the other remarkable events constantly transpiring before our eyes.

Retributive Justice.—We come now to our present condition. That terrible portentious storm, the mutterings of whose thunder startled us—the lightning glare of which only served more clearly to discover to us our dreadful condition—has burst upon us in all its fury!

We must realize the terrible forebodings of Thomas Jefferson, who exclaimed when referring to the slavery of his day and his State: "When I remember that God is just, I tremble for my country." But refusing to listen to the sages who lived in the early days of the Republic—refusing warnings given us, but rushing on to destruction, North and South guilty, until we find the land deluged with blood, and covered with graves, and our country one vast charnel house. The habiliments of mourning in every dwelling; maimed men by the thousands; widows and orphans meeting us at every step we take; debt piling up until it numbers thousands of millions! And for what? and to whom has this vast sacrifice of blood and treasure been made; but in the interest of, and for, not only the perpetuation and life, but the further extension of the hell coriginated system of African slavery here in our land. Again I ask the question, is there a man in this House who will vote to continue this system? Is there one among the young, just about casting his first vote on a great national question, or the man in middle life, who has seen the workings of this system, and more or less of the sorrows with which our country has been visited, or the old man, fast verging to the grave, and who is about casting his last vote; and that vote which may serve longer to continue, or sooner to wipe from the constitution, that only remaining stain with which it is now blackened. As I look into the intelligent faces of my associates in this Chamber, I will not believe that enough votes can be given to the interests of such a crime as the continuation of this moral monster,

too hideous for even perdition itself, and I shall not lose my hope until either 30 votes are recorded against this Constitutional Amendment, or men lacking the moral courage to vote against it, hide themselves (by absence) from very shame, and thus hope to escape the responsibility which they dare not boldly face—to such I would say, in the language of Randolph, "I envy not the head or heart of that man;" to this I would add, "I pity those who bear or may bear their names."

A Legislative Record—I look forward to coming years, when the acts of the "Senate and General Assembly" of the State of New Jersey for the year 1865, shall have passed into history. When the great fact that the State of New Jersey had the casting vote, thus forever settling the greatest moral question of the christian era, but proving recreant to the high trust, the constitutional requirement of three-fourths of the States was not obtained.

I see the records of doings, and votes and names of the actors in that great moral drama. I see those of coming generations turn to these records, and as they run their eyes down the list of names voting aye on this question, those names will blaze with glory; and turning to those whose record is with the list of noes, how will the memory of such be execrated? I will not press this futher. I simply ask, as I see that

Light is Breaking.—What is our condition to-day? Let the glorious Emancipation Proclamation of January, 1863, answer, as millions are morally forced by the act of the highest legislative body of the land, put into force by the Executive of the Nation as a military necessity. Let West Virginia answer, while Missouri responds to the act of Congress, abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. Anon comes the shout of freedom as "My Maryland" places herself among the free States by her own legal enactment. East Tennessee comes up to join with her sister States, while Arkansas mingles with the rest, and sings with Louisiana a song of freedom, as the smothered voice of North Carolina cries for help, and, unless all signs fail, the coming twelve months will wipe away the last vestage of human slavery, by the act of Congress, soon to be ratified by the constitutional provision of three-fourths of the States.

Do not hope to escape this responsibity by a mere subterfuge. The position we occupy as a State requires the vote of this body to make up the requisite number of States, so to alter the constitution.

If we prove faithful to the trust thus committed, an era is opening before us, as far exceeding our past history, as has our previous, exceeded that of any of the South American or Mexican Republics!—For now the shadows flee, the clouds disperse, the land of promise breaks upon our view. We see land literally abounding with milk and honey, blessed beyond all other lands. We see a territory of fertility spreading from ocean to ocean, and from the frozen North to the torrid South. We see the restoration of all material as well as moral good, without the black curse of human slavery, for with its fall, death and burial, goes down this accursed thing in every part of christendom,

and following this, an end to all systems of tyrannical government, both of Church and State.

And now I close by quoting a sentence on the monument of Henry Clay, at New Orleans, being an extract from one of his speeches. He said: "If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain, slavery, from the character of our country, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror." And, Mr. Speaker, in taking my seat I conclude by saying, I shall have the proud satisfaction of recording my name with the long and honored list of my countrymen, whose names and record, will last long after our bodies have returned to dust, and our spirits to the God who gave them.

Speech of Hon. James C. Goble.

Mr. Speaker:—I have felt, and still do feel, my inadequacy to do anything like justice to the important and momentous matters asked for and contained in this bill. It is no less than to ask of the Legislature of New Jersey to endorse and confirm the recent act of Congress in proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This is a great work—a serious business we are entering upon. Let us look well at what we are doing; examine every step; and look, and look again, before we make the dreadful, the last leap in consumating the destruction of the Constitution of the Union, and of the whole American republic. The very thought fills me with dismay and sadness.

I. What is proposed to be amended? The Constitution of the United States. We should bear in mind the solemn oath we took but a few weeks since, that we would keep and obey it as well as the Constitution of the State of New Jersey. Are we called upon now to vote for this bill, and thus disregard our oath, and stain our reputation as citizens and legislators, with the crying sin of perjury? I have been taught to respect, love, and reverence the Constitution from childhood. I shall ever cherish the very memory of the patriots that framed it. I love to look at the portrait that hangs just behind you, Mr. Speaker. Let us not forget that George Washington was President of that honorable Convention (and such a collection of patriots, statesmen and orators have never met together in this country since) which made the constitution that is now to be amended in a way which, under all the circumstances, means nothing less than its entire demolition and its utter abnegation. I have a high regard for the States that adopted it as the sacred bond of our National Union. Especially am I proud of New Jersey, which was one of the first in signing it, and I trust will be the last to do any act to alter, mutilate, weaken or destroy it. The

Constitution of the United States to me is only second to the Holy Scriptures, in its requirements and strong bulwarks of protection to life, liberty and property. The one teaches, guides and governs me in all things pertaining to religion, godliness and heaven; the other in all matters touching the welfare of my nation, and is the foundation of my political faith. In my mind I swore allegiance to the Constitution in early life. In filling offices I have time and again taken the oath to preserve, maintain and defend the Constitution. If necessary, I would lead my sons and my step-sons to the solemn altar, and there have them swear, before high heaven, allegiance to the Constitution. I feel like saying, paralyzed be the tongue that utters a vindicative word against the Constitution, and the arm that is lifted up to do it violence. Only its enemies seek its overthrow. These enemies, unfortunately for our country, have existed in our midst from the days of Alexander Hamilton to the present time—the infelicitous days of Abraham Lincoln.

II. Is it absolutely necessary that the Constitution should be amended? and can we not prosper nationally, as in days gone by, without such amendments? While the Democratic party were in power (which was with a slight exception, all the time, from the ratification of the Constitution, to the gloomy year of 1861), the Constitution was inviolably kept—the laws made in accordance with its provisions faithfully executed, its delegated powers strictly construed, honestly observed, and diligently carred out. No changes—no amendments—no increase of powers were by them asked for or demanded. The Constitution to them was a sacred instrument, made to be kept, observed and maintained by all, whether in or out of power. It was their sheet-anchor —their polar star. What we then enjoyed and now need is the Constitution, the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution as it is. This was the basis of the old Union and of our prosperity as a nation for more than seventy years, and its strict observance affords the only ray of hope for the restoration of the Union as it was. It is for the want of obedience to the Constitution (and not on account of its not being amended), that we are witnessing the last flickerings of the light of this American republic. God save us from self-destruction!

III. What amendments are proposed to be made that we are called upon by our vote to ratify and confirm? It is to amend the Constitution so far and in all respects as it relates to involuntary servitude or the abolition of slavery in the United States. Its advocates tell us this is all; it is very small; very short; easily attended to; very soon passed; very innocent; it cannot possibly injure any one: while it will prove a lasting blessing to the whole country. They say it is the voice of humanity, of reason, of pure religion. For my part, I cannot see these points; but I confess I see the very reverse all the way through. To me it seeems much larger, and to embrace much more than would seem to be conveyed in the few lines in which the proposed amendment is couched. It also looks very black to me. It looks like the description of the Dutchman's horse in the advertisement, which said he was black atl over except his tail, and that was black also. The very short

amendment, I will show, Mr. Speaker, to be very extensive, altering several articles and sections of the Constitution. Therefore I use the plural number (amendments) in my argument. But it is absolutely surprising that the very party who are now so clamorous for amendments on these very points have invariably, with a few exceptions, from the time they came in power up to within a short period, asserted that there were no such points in the Constitution to be amended. Truly ours is an age of sudden and almost miraculous changes! But let us see how far the proposed amendments affect the Constitution. Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution, recognizes slaves as persons to be represented by their masters, and as property to be taxed. Article 1, Section 8, authorizes Congress to suppress insurrections, which clause was intended, says Chief Justice Story, as a protection to the slave States. Article 1, Section 9, prohibited Congress from suppressing the slave-trade prior to 1808, and gave Congress power to impose a tax or duty upon each person or slave imported before that time. Article 5, Section 2, compels the States to give up, on claim, fugitive persons (or slaves) to their owners. Article 4, Section 4, again makes it the duty of the Federal Government to protect any State applying to it for aid "against domestic violence." The proposing of these amendments and the asking, at the hands of this Legislature, their ratification, are but given to aid, strength and comfort to the thousands of misguided and fanatical creatures who have been fighting the Constitution and the laws for years, and for whose works of wickedness our once prosperous and happy republic is now perishing from civil war. Hundreds of thousands of the Northern people have been so misled on this subject of slavery that they are blind, deaf and dumb to the rights of the slaveholding States. And now to finish the work of national disintegration and final breaking up and separation, New Jersey is asked to sustain and help them to finish their nefarious work.

Now if the country were ready, all the States fully and fairly represented in both houses of our Congress, Union prevailed East, West, North and South, brotherly love abounded, peace reigned, while all the political parties had a political say so, and all who are entitled to the elective franchise had the privilege of casting their votes for the proposed amendments, and also a voice through their representatives in Congress of saying what amendments shall be proposed, I would go for amendments. For then it would be to amend, not to kill the Constitution and get it out of the way so that it should never be heard of again; and thus make way for what these abolitionists call a new nation, that is, a nation without a Constitution. If it were a proper time or a right and safe time, constitutionally and lawfully reached, with purity of motives, to aid, strengthen and render more definite and clear the Constitution in its powers, provisions and meaning, I would without hesitation cast my vote for certain amendments, viz.: First, In the very heading of the Constitution, where it is "we the people," &c., I would have it amended, we, the white people of the United States. Second, In article 1, Section 2, where it is inserted, "including those bound to service," I would amend by rendering it, all those who are slaves,

Third, In Article 4, Section 2, where it is stated "no person held to service," &c., I would amend by simply saying in plain English, no bond slave, &c. Fourth, In the same article and section, where it is rendered, "shall not be discharged from such service," &c., I would have it, shall not be freed from such slavery or bondage, but shall be delivered up on the claim of their own masters. In Article 2, Section 1, where the President of the United States says, "I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," I would amend by adding, that upon conviction of violation thereof, had before any court of the United States of proper jurisdiction, and by a jury of his countrymen, he shall suffer the penalty of death for such offence. But what is the nature of the amendments now proposed? Simply one idea permeates the whole, and that is, negro emancipation, negro freedom, and negro equality. This they ask for, this they intend, and this they tell us they will have, cost what it will. They will violate the Constitution, break all oaths, kill every white person by a perpetual war, bankrupt the nation, and wreck the American Republic to accomplish their fiend-like object. When Abraham Lincoln came into power, he called the colored people niggers, then negroes, declaring that they were a different race, that they could not live with us, that they must colonize and go by themselves. In less than a year from that time, and ever since, they have by him and his party been styled "American citizens of African descent," while it appears to me that the negro tendency is still upward with the party in power. Marked distinctions and preferences have been given to the negro on many occasions by them. They soon will be, not only equal, but superior to the white race, if this abolition mania prevails much longer and spreads much father.

All hail the powers of Abr'am's name,
Let white folks prostrate fall—
Bring forth the colored gentleman
And make him lord of all.

Let white folks no more lift their heads,
Nor dare the acts reprove
Of mighty Lincoln—Abraham First,
Who freed the ones we love.

Let Constitution and the rights
Of States no more be known;
For we have made the negro race
Superior to our own.

For this we've fought—for this we've pray'd—
The nation's life have given;
Lord send the white folks all to h—l,
The negroes all to heaven.

And Lord above, when done with earth,
Give to our chosen band
Of woolley heads, sweet-scented crew,
A place at Thy right hand.

Now, sir, I do not object to the abolitionists making and having the negroes for their equals, their associates, or their bosom friends, but I have strong objections to their attempting to make them mine, or of the white race uncontaminated in general. This must not be ventured upon! It is against nature, humanity, the Constitution, and the Bible. I object not to the right of any people to chose their society, but a compulsion like this is revolting to the best principles of the human heart, and is, and must be attended with direful consequences. But I ask, what will the party get by these constitutional amendments more than they have already dared to assume?

Abraham Lincoln has freed all the negroes in all the States said to be in rebellion, several times by proclamation. He has fixed the very time when it was to take place, while we know to our sorrow that there is great virtue in his proclamations. He speaks and it is done. He proclaims, and even Democratic Governors re-echo his proclamations, while the people tremble and stand in obeyance. Why need amendments to the Constitution, while the will of one man is law supreme from which there is no appeal? There are no whys or wherefores in any case, nor reasons given, except the will of Abraham Lincoln. State sovereignty, State rights, and State protection, are as the spider's before his proclamations. Then, if he has proclaimed the negroes free they are and must be free. for who under heaven, dare hold negro slaves, when Abraham Lincoln has proclaimed them free? It is hazardous in the extreme. There are no lets or hindrances in that great national compact, the Constitution, in his way, in the emancipation of the negroes, for he can do everything by proclamation. The constitution as it is, or amended, is of little or no account with the party in power. Time and again, in argument have they declared when pressed that there is no Constitution until after the war. Now if this be so, and they certainly own it, why do they propose to have it amended—wherein is it needed? Proclamations can do everything, put all things out of the way, and brings everything in the way, just as is deemed necessary. I have often, in conversation with abolitionists, professors of the Christian religion, upon slavery, as largely taught in, and sanctioned by the Bible, had them declare positively, if the Bible teaches such a doctrine, that they would not believe the Bible, or that they must have a new version, &c. While it is a stuborn fact that the dogmas of abolitionism ride over everything, deny the Bible, trample the Constitution under its feet. How is it possible that the Constitution needs amendment, when there is no Constitution until after the war? and how does it need to be amended by the party in power, who disregard it as a national compact, who have violated its most sacred obligations, despised its authority, and cast off all allegiance to its provisions and its powers. It is strange enough that they should in this late hour of their reign of tyranny and oppression, deem it necessary to amend, and come here in these halls of legislation and ask us to ratify. Such arrogance and impudence is scarcaly if ever equalled. What more of power and privilege and dominion can they ask than what they have already usurped and exercised? What amendments are needed to aid

and strengthen such powers and such a party? Again, I understand the Constitution is to be amended so as to give it a very religious, holy reading, something like the following: "We the people of the United States humbly acknowledge Almighty God as the source of all authority." Now if such an amendment as this could take place, there would be no need of any other part of the Constitution; for this would be the Constitution in itself, and this would supercede all necessity of any amendments. In other words, it would be substituting the Bible for the Constitution. Besides, if we must have nationally a religious bond, compact, or Constitution, then let it be more fully expressed, concerning our faith in the Deity, say as follows:—"We acknowledge one, only living, true, eternal, and self-existent God, subsisting in three equal persons, The Father, The Word, and The Holy Ghost, and these three are one, as the source of all authority." This arrangement would give about as much Union nationally as there is now ecclesiastically. This would usher in the national millenium with a witness.

IV. Who have proposed these amendments? From whose acts do they emenate? Are they from the hands of friends or foes to the constitution? They are from those whose political life, whose speeches, whose writings, whose declarations, and now whose executive and legislative acts prove their bitter hate towards that constitution made by our worthy fathers and handed down to us to be kept inviolate. And we prove ourselves unworthy sons if we keep not unmutilated and untarnished the sacred trust from the hands of the spoiler. Yes, we are unworthy the name of freemen if we abet or aid in this crusade against the constitution. For it is nothing else but to throw it open and hand it (what little is left of it) over to its enemies to be torn piece-meal and scattered to the four winds. I form not hastily such opinions. I draw my conclusions carefully, and make these declarations deliberately. Let us hear a little what these constitution menders have said about it. They have said hard things against it. They have villified and slandered it at home and abroad. They have said they have a "higher law" than the Constitution to govern them and their acts. I suppose this higher law must be their consciences. Now if I should judge of their consciences by their acts, I should think they were like India-rubber, capable of stretching any way. I mean the abolition portion of the Republican party—or all that vote amendments. They have said, also, that the Constitution is "covenant with death, and a league with hell." A pretty race of beings, indeed, to amend! The Constitution in their hands, would fare like the man in the Scriptures, "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jerico, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead." Luke x. 30. To a great extent, the Constitution has suffered the same treatment from the hands into which it has unhappily fallen. They have stripped it of its raiment, that is, of its great paramount authority and power, and substituted "military necessity" and the will of one man, in its place, as supreme law.—Second. They have wounded it, yea, mangled it. Wound upon wound has been inflicted upon it. Look at the four wounds it received at one

session of their Congress. I mean the four monstrous acts of despotism—the tax bill, the finance bill, the conscription act and the indemnity bill. These are enough to kill anybody, or anything, Constitution and everything. The Constitution (like the man) is half dead. There is but little hope of its recovery unless relief is afforded from the Democracy. It is very low. It has been bleeding from its wounds for more than three years. Its wounds have not been dressed, nor bound up, neither have there been oil or wine poured into these wounds by any good constitutional Samaritan, for all such were in danger of arrests and bastiles. But in the case of the man, it is said that "they departed, leaving him," &c. Not so in the case of the Constitution. Its enemies will not depart and leave it. No, no: they are determined to kill it; hence concurrent act of both Houses, just now in haste to amend. And now we, the Legislature of New Jersey, are called upon to ratify all such amendments. Why such haste, such dreadful haste, in the downward road to ruin? Again, one of their chief speakers said, years ago, "He hoped to live to see an anti-slavery God, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery Constitution." There are two things worthy of notice here. The first is an honest confession that God, the Bible, and the Constitution were all against them, and their wicked theories. The second is that they might, yea that they would (if they ever gained the power) amend, change, or destroy the Constitution, which stood in the way of they onward march of "impartial freedom," —negro equality and miscegenation their political trinity. Also that they might mutilate, interpolate and even wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction. But how they were going ever to effect a change in the Deity I have not yet been able to discover. I know they are capable of effecting great changes—doing almost wonders—or else they could not have brought this country so soon into its present deplorable condition; but still I think they will find their match in attempting to change the Almighty, and of making him what he is not an "anti-slavery God." "Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth, but woe unto him that striveth with his Maker." Isa. 45, 9. These great architects of ruin, having disolved the Union, and trampled our liberties in the dust, still are planning a new system of raids upon the Constitution, in the form of amendments. How sugar-coated is this deadly pill; how honeyed this poisonous dose, carefully prepared now for us Jerseymen to swallow!

Another distinguished orator of their's said, upon the floor of Congress that, "He was sick and tired of hearing about the Constitution as it is," &c. No doubt of it. And why? Simply because it is in their way in carrying out their political faith, and plotted mischief, against a monarchy, and this, too, under the pretext of the abolition of slavery. Now this is the party that is to amend, improve and make the Constitution better. Do we believe it? Can we trust them? Are we ready to hand over the constitution (or what is left of it) to the mercy of its avowed enemies? Never: I am pursuaded never!

V. When are these amendments to be made? Answer, now. Are we as a nation prepared to make them now? We are in a wretched

condition to undertake or to perform such a great and important work. We are in the midst of civil strife, in the midst of a family war, the most devastating and horrible ever known, read of or heard of. The North against the South—the South against the North in mortal combat—the East against the West, and the West against the East in business and financial matters, and in feelings of ill-will and hate, while the Middle States from both of the foregoing causes, are tossed like a bark on the ocean in a tempest, or shaking and trembling as with an earthquake. All is in commotion. Everything is unsettled. The whole country is under a dangerous excitement. Extremes every way, and everywhere, and with everybody, are resorted to. Political parties never in my day have felt half the rancoring and bitter feelings towards each other as at the present time; nor were party lines ever drawn half so tight, nor such desperate measures resorted to, in order to secure success at each and every election. The baser passions of the human heart were never so inflamed, nor prevailed to so great an extent, the length and breadth of our country, as at this very time. The whole mind of the people is absorbed upon this great subject. What shall we do to save our own lives, the lives of our sons, our fathers, brothers or friends from the slaughter pens of human life, which this wretched war has opened? Scarcely anything is seen or heard but filling quotas, raising bounties, passing bounty bills, getting substitutes, or enlisting volunteers, to meet the Presidential demands. The dark pall of mourning covers the face of the land. Our country is filled with hospitals, and these are overflowing with disabled men, while our streets are crowded with life-long cripples. My heart is often pained at what my eyes behold. We are surrounded with unparallelled human miseries, while desolations, groans and tears are in our midst. Yet this is the time, the opportune time, we are told, to amend the constitution. But the true meaning is, this is the time, the favored time, the time we, the party in power, have been looking for, and working, to, for to kill, whatever yet remains alive of the constitution.

I admit, Mr. Speaker, the fact that there is a provision in the Constitution to amend the same. Article V. "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendmets, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as a part of the constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode or ratification may be proposed by the Congress." Let us examine this provision of the constitution a little for our benefit, and see if we are prepared to ratify the amendments with the legislative vote of New Jersey. Observe, 1st. These amendments were intended to be intrusted with the friends and not the declared bitter enemies of the constitution. Compare that elevated assemblage of men who made the constitution, and who made it on the white basis, with the body of members of both Houses of Congress, who, with a few honorable exceptions, are determined to amend (or

kill) the constitution, so that the negro shall be the equal, if not superior, to the white man. 2d. The Congress and two-thirds of both Houses of which shall propose, &c. Was there any such a Congress present? Did two-thirds of all the members of both Houses vote amendments? These questions can only be answered in the negative. 3d. When two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary. Have two-thirds of both Houses deemed it necessary? Have they set forth the great importance of the amendments—the great benefits resulting therefrom to the general government—to the different States of the Union, east, west, north and south? Or do these amendments spring from the political dogmas of the party in power, whose intellectual faculties are greatly impaired from a prevalent disease, called "the negro on the brain?" These amendments owe their origin decidedly to the latter. 4th. Two-thirds of both Houses shall propose amendments to this constitution. Now if there were honestly two-thirds of both Houses who voted for the amendments, it can only be for the proposal of them. They may offer them, and that ends all their power. Why should these amendments be proposed, but give the people an opportunity to examine their merits, have them put into county and district canvass of all the counties and districts of the several States, that the Legislatures of all the States shall be composed of members who were elected upon the great issue of constitutional amendments. This Legislature was not so elected. We are not ready for the question. We cannot vote upon it. We were sent here to support, not to amend the Constitution of the United States. We have all, and severally, sworn to do so. Everything honorable, sacred and just requires us to keep our oaths. I hope these amendments will be put at issue by their advocates and friends next fall, at our annual election throughout the State, and thus elect a legislature prepared to vote for or against these amendments. 5th. There is also a second mode of proposing amendments, viz: on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, Congress shall call a convention for proposing amendments. This fully sustains my position and views as already given upon this subject, as reaching the people and receiving their approval. Conventions are Democratic. They have always been observed and practiced by the Democratic party. Equally are these dreaded and avoided by tyrants and usurpers. In these the people speak and are and will be heard. From these has the voice of freemen been heard in thunder tones, causing the hearts of despots to fear and their knees to tremble like Belshazzar's. 6th. These proposals of amendments must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof. How strongly did the framers of the constitution guard it against violence and infringment from sudden, unnecessary and forced amendments! Will it, can it be pretended that these amendments were brought before the people in the political canvass of last fall? Astounding: for, as full as were our opponents with the hankering desire for constitutional amendment, they did not dare, neither now dare they, put it at issue and risk a vote of the people upon it, though aided as they are with power,

bayonets and greenbacks. Some twenty or thirty years ago, New Jersey amended her constitution. But what was the condition of the State when this grave work was performed? Was she at war with herself? Were the people in the different parts of the State exasperated towards each other? Did sectionalism prevail? No, Mr. Speaker; all was quiet as a summer evening. Peace and prosperity abounded. Brotherly love was cherished from Sussex to Cape May. There were then two great political parties. These were consulted, were mutual, and respectively aided in the work of constitutional amendments. But I ask, have the Democrats been consulted and respected in these proposed amendments of the Constitution of the United States? None, except a few false-hearted ones, who, Essau like, sold their birthright for a mess of pottage—greenbacks and office, to be sure. Has there been a mutual agreement between them and the party in power in deeming it necessary to propose amendments? Everything has been done that could be to prevent consultation and co-operation with Democrats in this whole matter. Again, it will be said that the people endorsed the doctrine of amendments in their re-election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. If this be true, then New Jersey is exempted, and ought not be called upon to ratify; for she entered her solemn protest against Abraham Lincoln, his amendments, and all his policy, twice, in 1860 and 1864, and so will we, her legislators, record our protest against ratification, and this protest shall live on the record of this legislature when we are no more; but our memories will survive the wasting ages of time in this the noblest act of our lives.

VI. What will be the result of ratifying the proposed amendments? It will destroy the last hope of peace and union. It will put out the last light, and break the last tie, and perpetuate disunion, between the North and South forever. It has a finalty in it. It closes every avenue to the return of the South, while the Union as it was, will appear (after the passage of this bill) like the dim flickering light of a taper sinking in its dying socket. All is gone! All is lost! The Constitution is destroyed, the Union broken up and the republican form of government, under which we lived and prospered for seventy-five years, will have departed as a scroll. This act is not to be looked at separately and alone, but as one of a series of acts, in opposition to, and violation of the constitution and constitutional rights and liberties by the present administration. This act seems intended to cap the climax of their intended system of wickedness. When this war was commenced, it was said (on the part of the North) to be to restore the Union—preserve the constitution, and cary out constitutional laws. The passage of this act is intended to violate and destroy all these, and establish and prosecute a war of abolition, confiscation, subjugation and extermination, with all the sufferings, horrors and miseries that must follow its train. Pass this, and what hope is left us, of a restoration of the Union? When Jefferson Davis went out of the Union, he done us much harm! He committed a great blunder, a great evil; but not the hundredth part, that Abraham Lincoln has by staying in. Davis went

out of the temple of liberty, but left it standing, not a stone was removed from its place, nor a timber from its fastenings. Lincoln stays in the temple, but says, Jeff. are you out? Yes, he replies, I am out. Well says Lincoln then I will demolish this temple, so that you can never come back again, so that there will be no place to come back to, no temple to come into, and worship as did our fathers. I will remove timber after timber, and stone after stone in the great superstructure; till I reach the foundation, (the constitution) and I will plow that till there is not left one stone upon another, that is not cast down. And we are now called upon in support of this bill to relay and sharpen this abolition plow, the better to enable him to execute this horrible work. Is New Jersey ready to lend a helping hand in this infamous work? Are we, her representative legislators, prepared to vote in support of this bill? I think not, I hope not? God forbid! I feel the weight of this subject. I pray for the cessation of hostilities and the return of peace with her balmy wings! I greatly desire the restoration of the Union as it was! O that I may see it before my silvered locks come down to the grave! I love my country—my whole, undivided country! Next to my God I love my country! O Heaven save us from self-destruction, and from the evils of this war—a war against ourselves, the constitution and the Union.

Speech of Hon. Charles C. Lathrop.

Mr. Speaker: I thank the gentleman from Middlesex (Mr. Goble) for the remarkable speech or sermon which he has delivered. I admire his frankness and the freedom with which he has avowed his sentiments, as it has opened the way for a free discussion of the whole subject of slavery. During the remarks of the gentleman, I have been constrained to ask myself, where am I? Do I stand in the Assembly of New Jersey, looking out upon the Delaware, or as I was wont to do some years ago, in a similar capacity, in the legislative halls of a State on the banks of the Mississippi? Until within a few years ago, I have resided in the midst of slavery, and witnessed its workings in all the phases of society, and probably no member in this House is situated as I am upon this subject. I have seen and felt its influence in a manner, which, if it had been experienced by the gentleman from Middlesex, would make his heart palpitate with indignation and agony. I have heard sentiments uttered by the gentleman who has preceeded me that would hardly have been sanctioned by the most ultra pro-slavery men of the South, and would have been repudiated by many a slave holder with whom I have been in association for the most part of my life. It has been said by the gentleman, that to adopt this amendment to the constitution would be to destroy it, or, in other words, to strike slavery out of existence, to remove an excresence from the body politic

in order to save its life is to destroy the constitution, as if it was made to establish slavery. This was never the design of the framers of the constitution. They never regarded slavery as a permanent institution but looked upon and treated it as an evil that must and would soon pass away, and therefore did not permit the word slave to appear in that sacred instrument, though the gentleman from Middlesex (Mr. Goble) has asserted that while to amend the constitution, so as to abolish an institution never designed or expected by the framers of that instrument to be a permanent one, would be to destroy the constitution. Yet he, Mr. Goble, has declared that he would, if he had it in his power, so amend as to insert the word slave wherever the word "held to service" occurred, and would "make the President of the United States subject to trial and death if he did not maintain the institution of slavery." This kind of amendment, in his view, would be no "destruction to the constitution," but an improvement. So thought the rebels and traitors who arose in arms against the constitution, and attempted to overthrow it and establish one of their own on this basis, because ours did not sanction slavery by name.

It has been said by the gentleman from Hudson (Mr. Abbett), and others, that this question was not before the people at the last election, and that therefore it ought not to be acted on now. But this subject was virtually before the people in the late canvass. The question as to whether the power of slavery, which had plunged our land into a sea of blood, should continue to rule this country, or be overthrown, was the question which influenced the action of the people in my part of the State at least. As early as April 8th, 1864, the Senate of the United States passed this amendment of the constitution, and it was well known that it was pending before the House of Representatives, and the matter would be considered by the people. In fact it was the most momentous of all questions in the canvass, as to whether slavery should die in order that the Republic might live, and from my section, not a member was elected to the legistature that did not favor this measure. For one I wish this amendment could be submitted to the people, I do not fear their voice, and I desire no better issue with which to go before the people than this, and I will tell the gentlemen on the other side, that they would hear such a voice from the northern hills to the sea girt coast of New Jersey as would forever ring the death knell of an institution that has been a curse to our country from its earliest days to the present; dividing and destroying parties, aleniating one section from another until it has risen in rebellion, and caused our hitherto peaceful land to flow with fraternal blood. But the duty of meeting this question is ours, and for one I am prepared to meet it boldly and decidedly.

The institution of slavery is contrary to the genius of the government created by our fathers, they were all opposed to it, as has been quoted by the gentleman from Camden, it was so considered by all our statesmen until by the action of Calhoun, when defeated upon the tariff issue as a means of nulification and disunion, he returned to South Carolina from Congress and told his friends that the South could never

be united against the North on the tariff question, and that the basis of Southern Union must be shifted to the slave question, and shifted it was, and the whole nulification press opened upon the dangers of the safety of slave property, filling the country with alarm and exciting the Southern people as to the inevitable consequences of abolition designs. This sentiment was propagated in the hot-bed of South Carolina, and transplanted assiduously to other slave States, until slavery became a political power, courted and dallied with by both political parties, until it prostituted and perverted public sentiment, demoralized the stamina of the people, became haughty, insolent and dominering. Instead of remaining what it was by State laws, a purely local institution, slavery demanded a national recognition. In its interest vast territories were obtained, from which a tier of States was formed to extend its power in behalf of the South, Louisiana was purchased at a cost to the nation of fifteen millions of dollars, Florida at an expense of five millions of dollars, and expenses of Jackson's war of 1818 and of the Florida war of 1840, which cost eighty millions of dollars, for the purpose of securing the return of runaway slaves and to break up their refuge by driving away a squad of Seminoles. I was in Florida at the time and know of what I speak. Texas cost two hundred millions of dollars for her purchase, and the Mexican war resulting therefrom, besides the lives of thousands of brave men mainly from the North, in addition to which was paid ten millions of dollars to Texas in 1850 for ceding a tract she never owned, in New Mexico. A great part of the military establishment of the United States has been kept up to guard Southern frontiers. The nation has carried her mails at great loss, fortified and improved her harbors, built her navy yards, custom-houses, and light-houses, at an expense of five hundred millions of dollars, five-sixths of which was levied by indirect taxation from the North and Northwest, all and more expended for the benefit of slave interest within this country, and it was not until this power demanded to enter territory dedicated to freedom by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and their compatriots, and to make slavery national instead of local, did the people determe to resist this. It was not to abolish slavery, but to prevent its extension into free territory, that the present administration was brought into power, and because the people chose to exercise their constitutional rights, the South plunged the nation into the bloodiest civil war ever witnessed without the slightest cause, and yet the gentleman from Middlesex, says that the arch traitor and fiend who sits at the head of the confederate band of traitors in Richmond, who has caused the land to flow with the blood of our kindred, left the temple of liberty unimpaired, while the present head of the nation had overthrown it and left not one stone upon another, and "that Jefferson Davis in leaving the Union had done less harm than Abraham Lincoln had by remainining in it." No, Mr. Speaker, it was only when these rebel leaders found they could no longer rule the country that they determined to ruin it, and they not only abrogated and repudiated the constitution, but they did not leave the temple of liberty until they had done their best to leave it in ruins, and to establish in its place the

throne of despotism based on slavery. I believe that in the Providence of God a man has been brought to the executive chair though in opposition to my vote on his first election, peculiarly adapted to secure the overthrow of this accursed institution, and that under the administration of Mr. Lincoln we shall see the temple of liberty adorned, beautified, and made glorious by resting alone on the foundations of a constitution dedicating the country to freedom.

In regard to the question of the amendment before the House, it was not one which pertained to the negro, except incidentally. I am not one of the number who believe that the colored man is to remain in this country as the equal of the white man, or that he should be encouraged to do so. His destiny was a much higher one. He was permitted to be brought here that he might become fitted to revolutionize and redeem his own country, Africa. To keep him in slavery is to defeat this purpose, and constrains him to an unnatural association with a race into which it was never designed he should blend. To enable the negro to consummate the great mission God designed him to accomplish, he must be relieved from slavery, and this will hasten his departure from our country to the one which is to be the field of his progress and glory. This continent was designed for and will become the heiritage of white men, a republic of reunited States, a free commonwealth, such as the world has never before witnessed. The amendment as proposed was the only constitutional mode of getting rid of slavery by national action. When the proclamation of emancipation was issued by President Lincoln, it was denounced by the Democratic party as unconstitutional. I had, myself, considered it of no avail except as a war measure. It was issued more for foreign effect than for anything practical it might accomplish at home. The Democracy then universally insisted that the only way slavery could legally be reached was by an amendment of the constitution, and proposed that such action should be had. We now stand on Democratic ground, and I now call upon the Democrats of this House to redeem these pledges. I appeal to them to take rank with the immortal sixteen Democrats in the House of Representatives, who stood so fearlessly and so boldly in Congress, voting for this measure, and against an institution that had broken up and destroyed their party, as it had before done to the party with which it was my pleasure, formerly to be associated, the old Whig party.

I appeal to them to emancipate themselves from this power, and stand with the noble Democrats who voted to ratify this measure in the Illinois Legislature and elsewhere. The name of Democracy was one that called up the sympathies of the people in favor of equal rights and freedom. It was once the cognomen of a great and glorious party. Let all true Democrats rally to the support of this measure, and there will be formed a Democratic party in the country of men who can stand up for the Union without the taint of secession and rebellion resting upon them, because of their adherence to the slave power that had been the father of these pestilential heresies. If the Democrats here fail to identify themselves with this measure, they will go down

with the enemies of progress and freedom. If the Democrats in this House desire that their children, and their children's children should look back upon their memory with pleasure, let them support this measure. Congress has exercised its unquestioned power, and recommended this amendment, and it must be ratified. To do this now it requires New Jersey's aid, and if the opposition members of this House do not do it to-day, their successors will. New Jersey, standing between two mighty States, who have ratified this measure, is drawing not only the eyes of her neighboring States upon her, but a world is straining their gaze to see if she will act in accordance with her Revolutionary fame, and do honor to the memory of the Jersey Blues, or whether smitten with blindness; she—the only free State in the Union—will still remain chained to the car of slavery, which is dragging down to infamy all who adhere to it. Let New Jersey arise and shake off this night-mare, and cutting loose from the polluting carcass, aid with Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri, Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas, which have mounted the car of freedom, soon to be followed by Delaware and Kentucky, in making this nation a Republic of Free White Men.

Speech of Hon. D. E. Culver.

Mr. Speaker: I do not arise to unnecessarily trespass upon the time of the House in the discussion of the question nor to make a set speech, but to give briefly my reasons why this bill should not pass.

I do not stand here sir, as a defender of African, or other human slavery. Far be it from my intention to appologize for it, much less to advocate it.

The question before the House, in my opinion, is not as to whether slavery is moral or immoral, but it is one of those questions, which the general government or the States separately should determine. It is a question of power and of expediency alone.

Gentlemen seem to forget that before and during the war for Independence African slavery was universal over the whole country. That it was considered a domestic question is shown by the subsequent action of the States in separately abolishing it.

When the constitution was formed the subject was discussed, and the debates in the convention show that the question of slavery was then discussed, and arguments in relation to it were made, as for instance, it was pressed by northern men, that they should be allowed to import into the country in their vessels slaves for at least twenty years, and it was also agreed that slave property should be taxed an import duty of ten dollars on each slave which the importer was to pay. There were other bargains made in relation to slaves and slavery, and finally a clause was inserted in the constitution that on the escape of any person

owing service, the servant or slave should be returned to the person to whom the service was due. There can be no question but that the right of property in the services or labor of the slave was acknowledged from the beginning.

The right to hold and to use that property was guarranteed to every person under the constitution who chose to do so, and they cannot lawfully be deprived of that right unless by voluntary, emancipation, or by the action of the State. We are bound to live up to the compact whether it ceases to be beneficial to us individually or not.

I hold that the abolition of slavery can take place lawfully; only in one of three ways:

1st. Voluntary emancipation by the owner.

2d. Action by the State.

3d. Confiscation of the property of rebels in war.

If the Congress can interfere with this question, then it may also with either of the four domestic relations.

They are the relative condition of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, master and servant. If Congress can alter these domestic relations, which are of the most sacred nature, that affects any individual citizen, then indeed have we surrendered into their hands, powers which were never dreamed of before this time.

I will next consider the expediency of the proposed amendment at the present time. Could there ever be a time more unpropitious to make such a vital and fundamental change? It is as though when a person is ill with a violent and dangerous fever, a surgical operation involving life or death were about to be undertaken to cut out a tumor from the body which might never prove detrimental to the health of the patient. While the fever and passion of civil war is raging fearfully, endangering the very life of the nation, it is proposed to dissect out from the body politic the tumor of slavery. During peace the sudden abolition of slavery would undoubtedly shake the very foundations of the structure upon which our institutions are built. In passing this amendment as presented to us, without a provision for compensation to loyal slave-owners in the loyal States of Delaware and Kentucky, we should break our solemn faith pledged to them in the constitution that all their property should be held sacred, which under it is not to be taken away without payment of its full and fair value. I admit, sir, that for the good of the whole, the property of the citizen can be taken, but not without consideration. The States of Delware and Kentucky have never seceded, and then to what a depth have we fallen, when for their loyalty, we propose to reward the citizens of those States by such unjust and ungenerous treatment. I trust that the State of New Jersey will never do so mean an act; leave it to the patriots of Massachusetts and other northern States, after they have shipped off and sold the most valuable of their slave property to the people of the southern States, even while men are living who witnessed the transactions, to rush with indecent haste through the legislatures of those States, bills to free those slaves and their descendants, by violence and without even so much as an apology.

I shall show that under the present circumstances there is no necessity for this measure.

We are engaged in a war with the Southern States where slavery prevails. The services due to the master by the slave is property, and like any other property of a beligerant or traitor can be reached by military or civil law.

The rising of the people of those States in rebellion to settle the status of slavery (according to their theory), was entirely unjustifiable and they have appealed to force of arms, instead of reason and law under the constitution, and they must abide the result, which will be their subjugation or independence, unless a compromise is come to by mutual agreement.

1. If they are subjugated they must accept the terms of the conqueror, which will be the wishes of a majority of the people of the loyal States, and it will be time enough to express that will after so desirable a result is arrived at.

2. If they attain their independence by force of arms, then it is immaterial whether we adopt the bill in favor of the constitutional amendment or not.

3. If the matters in dispute between the two sections are settled by compromise, then it is not now a proper time to make such a disposition of slavery as we may hereafter be compelled to change.

We may be compelled to take back, under those circumstances, the very law we make to-day if we pass this bill. I regard the non-adoption of this amendment a Democratic measure, unless it had been submitted to the people for their approval and had met it. Let it not be forgotten, however, that the Republican members of this House have to-day, by their votes, refused to permit this measure to become a law only after the people have voted upon and approved of it. Let the responsibility rest upon them of having refused to allow the intelligent voters of New Jersey to determine, if they believe this bill to be just.

I will here say I disclaim, for the Democratic party, that it is in anywise committed for or against the institution of African Slavery, as it now or heretofore existed.

As a policy we did not create it, nor as a party measure do we propose, in a general way like this, to abolish it. While the slave States remained in the Union the Democratic party always supported the people of those States in *all* of their rights under the Constitution of the United States.

I conceive it to be the mission of that party to maintain the power, equality and sovereignity of the States, excepting so much as was delegated to their representatives in Congress assembled. To preserve to the people of the States their rights free and untrammeled. To keep faith between the States, to maintain all written compacts and agreements, to resist dangerous centralization of power in the hands of a few, and to prevent unauthorized exercise of it by any officer placed by the people temporarily in power.

If I consulted political expediency I should vote for the bill; as the total abolition of slavery would deprive the opposition of their whole

stock in trade, and thereby dissolve the party. That one question is all there is of that party.

But Mr. Speaker, there are other and higher reasons that direct me. I shall never surrender a principle for the expediency of the hour. If as a party we go down in the defence of our time honored and conservative principles, the opponents of the Democratic party shall not say by any act of mine, that when the principles of that party become unpopular in the country, we yielded our honor or fidelity, to support a course which we believe to be unjust.

I shall not consent in this hour to violate those sacred compacts and agreements made with other states, under a community of interest and desires. It would be dishonorable to do so. Had the opposition element in Congress even, been honest enough to have compensated loyal slave owners for their property, I doubt not I might have voted for this bill.

Speech of Hon. Robert Moore.

Mr. Speaker:—I have not on any former occasion, risen on this floor to address the House on any subject; never on any former occasion have I had any desire so to do; nor have I any desire to make a speech now, but I desire in my humble way to speak the honest convictions of my heart, and the sentiments of the constituency which I have the honor to represent. Upon this great question I desire that my vote shall stand right upon the record, and also to state the reasons that guide me in the vote I shall give. And let us implore of Him who holds the destiny of nations as well as of men in the hollow of His hand, to bestow upon our country and people His blessings; and upon us his humble servants now before Him, the blessing of ability and wisdom to perform our duty to our people, our State and Nation, in the decision of the great question, which lies before us.

The Congress of the United States, has, in the exercise of its constitutional power proposed to the States an amendment to the constitution by adding a section, providing that neither slavery, or involuntary servitude, shall exist within the jurisdiction of the United States, except as a punishment for crime, and the representatives of the people of New Jersey, in the Senate and Assembly, now in session, should deem it a duty they owe to themselves, to their constituents and posterity, to declare and make known the opinions they hold on the question thus submitted to them for their decision. The question of amendment seems to be reduced to three propositions:

First. Does the constitution itself provide the way and manner by which it shall be amended?

Second. Is it expedient to amend it?

Third. If so, is this the time?

First. There are but two methods by which the constitution can be amended: Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments; or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States shall call a convention for proposing amendments; which in either case shall be valid, as part of the constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress. These are the modes of amendment pointed out by the constitution, and the only modes.

Congress, acting under this article of the constitution, and in accordance with its forms, has proposed an amendment, and submitted it to the legislatures of the States. There can be no doubt of the power and right of Congress to adopt this plan, and in my judgment, there is little doubt as to the course which duty requires us to pursue—to ratify this amendment, and let it become a part of the Federal Constitution. A gentleman upon the other side of the House—a gentleman for whom I have personally, the highest regard—proposes some other form of ratification. Why is this? The constitution, nowhere contemplates a reference of the question to a direct vote of the people; neither does it leave with the legislatures of the States to decide the form of ratification—that power and duty is confided to Congress, and Congress has exercised it. The amendment is, therefore, before us for our decision, and we cannot if we would, evade it.

Why should we not meet the question like men? Why may not causes of division and disagreement on other questions be disregarded in the settlement of a question so grave and important as this? Shall New Jersey stand alone among her loyal sisters in preventing the ratification of this amendment—shall she be the single blot on the fair standard of Freedom? I trust not; I hope that we shall meet the question squarely and pass the bill as now before the House, by a decisive vote.

Second. If the *power* to amend the constitution is unquestioned, is it *expedient* to amend it in the manner proposed. On that point I have no doubt whatever. I believe this amendment to be not only expedient, but to be absolutely demanded by the experience of the past four years. The terrible war in which we are engaged was commenced to build up, strengthen and fortify slavery—but for slavery, the South would never have engaged in this wicked rebellion. It has been from the first, the one disturbing cause that has threatened the peace and stability of the Union. The slave States, by their rebellion, have at last convinced the loyal people North and South, that there can be no security for our peace and safety, as long as this disturbing element is permitted to exist.

A long and bitter experience has shown us the power for mischief possessed by the system of slavery, connected as it is with the social and political framework of our society. As has been well said, it was the evil genius that troubled the fathers in their labors of patriotism, and produced dissension where concord alone should have reigned. Like the old serpent, it entered our Garden of Eden and

seduced from their loyalty many of the sons and daughters of the Republic. Winding its deadly folds around the goddess of liberty, it claimed and exercised despotic power in the very *sanctum sanctorum* of her temples. It laid its hand upon our nervous system and the nation became palsied. For eighty years it has been the deadly enemy of republican institutions; for eighty years it has moulded the legislation of the country; for eighty years it has controlled the foreign policy of the government; for eighty years it has crippled the power and energies of an otherwise free people; for eighty years it has ruled the executive and influenced the judicial departments; for eighty years it has commanded the army and navy; for eighty years it has muzzled free speech and free press; for eighty years it has poisoned public opinion and repressed every aspiration of freedom; for eighty years it has made the American name a hissing and a by-word among the nations of the earth; for eighty years it robbed the American people of their rights under the constitution; for eighty years it has ruthlessly trampled upon every principle of the Declaration of Independence; for the last four years it has waged a fiendish, malignant, remorseless war against us, striking with death the first born in almost every loyal household, bringing untold misery upon the nation, demanding from our people sacrifices of blood and treasure to an extent that might well appal and crush the spirit of any other people on earth; and yet with this glaring and damnable record against this institution, we have gentlemen, within this hall of freedom, sitting beneath the folds of that thrice glorious flag of liberty, representatives of a free people, who hesitate to strike this last blow which shall exterminate the monster forever and ever.

Remove the cause, and the effect will cease; strike down slavery and the States will be bound together in a firm Union; a Union of principle, of freedom and of a common prosperity, and not merely a formal and legal Union of States, constantly in peril through the presence of a great evil and crime. Take away this element of discord, and you remove the cause of all our woes; the cause that has cost the lives of thousands of our best and bravest; that has filled the land with mourning, and drawn bitter tears from the eyes of widows and orphans. Remove this element of discord, and with a restored and strengthened Union, the sun of prosperity, which hitherto shone so gloriously, and which even now begins to show the "silver lining" from behind the black cloud of treason and rebellion, will soon break forth with the full effulgence of noonday, and in the future will shine with a lustre not known in the past.

THIRD. I contend that it is not only competent and expedient to thus amend the constitution, but that this is the time for the adoption of such an amendment. Would that the same *patriotism* that animated the breast of the illustrious author of the Declaration of Independence, animated the breast of every member of this Assembly. The question on the constitutional amendment would then soon be settled in this House. Let us endeavor to follow in the footsteps of the illustrious Jefferson, who was a strong advocate of emancipation in his day. His patriotic fears for the future made him extremely anxious to rid the country of

this dangerous element. I recollect reading one of Mr. Jefferson's letters to Mr. Holmes, of Maine, that in speaking of slavery he says: "This wolf that we have by the ears we can neither hold fast nor safely let go." But the time has now come when we can safely let him go; the keepers of the prison have fled and the thunder of the Union army has so shaken the foundation of the prison-house that the doors are thrown open and the bonds of the prisoners loosed, and Jefferson Davis will require no interpreter to read the handwriting on the wall—that the chief corner stone of the so called Confederacy has fallen down and the Temple of Rebellion is shaken to its foundation and will soon follow. Who does not believe that *now is the time* to amend the constitution, that the country may no more be deluged in fraternal blood on account of slavery? The rebels already begin to see how majestically the Old Ship of State sails on, with sails all set, her colors thrown to the breeze, bearing at her mast-head the single word "Union." The great Ship of State sails on, and with her *amended* chart, placed in the hands of the honest helmsman to enable him to guide the noble vessel over the stormy sea on which she has so long been tossed, and with full confidence that so long as she sails under the banner of freedom, she will not strand upon the shoals of rebellion or split upon the rock of disunion we can exclaim in the language of the poet:

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State,
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hope of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate;
We know what master laid thy keel!
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel;
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope."

Slavery, which this amendment proposes to strike from the constitution, has been a curse to our institutions from the first. It was the great difficulty in the way of the framing and adoption of the constitution, and from that time to the commencement of the great pro-slavery rebellion, it was a constant source of anxiety and trouble.—But now the time has come when we may safely rid ourselves of this danger. The Southern States by their rebellion have deprived themselves of all further claims upon our forbearance. Refusing to submit to the voice of the people, legally expressed, they took up arms for the destruction of the Union and the constitution. While they obeyed the constitution and the laws they had a right to ask for their protection, and they received it. But when they betrayed the nation into a civil war, they released us from all obligations to sustain an institution which we, in common with the whole civilized world, reprobated and condemned. Our future safety demands that we should take slavery out of the protection of the law, and the constitution has pointed out the method. By this amendment we become free indeed.

Can New Jersey hesitate to join in this good work? Missouri, Maryland and West Virginia have already enrolled themselves in the number of free States, and though Delaware and Kentucky still hesitate, the party of freedom is growing in those States, and will very soon be able to control their policy. Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana are ready for this great reform, and will give it their sanction. Will New Jersey be alone among the Free States, and stop the progress of Freedom, when slave States set her an example? I will say to the gentleman on the other side who oppose this bill, that they depart from the teachings of Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, and nearly all the great men who founded the Union, and built up the fabric of our greatness and prosperity. A gentleman who preceded me in this debate, has given numerous extracts from the writings of these patriots, and I do not design to repeat them, I will, however, recall to your recollection, a declaration of Washington. In a letter to Robert Morris, he said: "There is not a man living who more sincerely wishes to see some plan for the abolition of slavery adopted than I do." The Father of his Country was not afraid to use the word "abolition," or of being called an "abolitionist." He desired the the abolition of slavery. Now, in the Providence of God, a plan for its effectual abolition has become possible, and is demanded by a regard for our future safety and peace.

Patrick Henry, the patriot and statesman said: "I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil." Was he not a prophet? Has not that time now arrived—even in our day? Let us do everything we can to improve it! Let New Jersey of all the free States not stand alone in this great cause of freedom! Again, Mr. Henry says: "Let us transmit to our descendants—together with our slaves—a pity for their unhappy lot, and our abhorrence for slavery."

Many of the members in the convention that framed the constitution were in favor of emancipation and insisted that Congress should have the power to abolish slavery by law. Some of the delegates from the States now in rebellion thought that the power to abolish not only the African Slave Trade, but Slavery in the States ought to be given to the Federal Government. No doubt those great statesmen were looking forward to such times as we behold in the present, when the accursed institution would bring about a dissolution of the Union which they had labored so hard to establish, and deluge this land in fraternal blood.

It is this institution, condemned and abhorred by the Fathers, for which the South is willing to cut assunder this glorious Union, with a determination to establish a new government of which African slavery was to be the chief corner stone. Now let us remove forever the accursed evil. We do not intend to give up this land of ours or any part of it; if we were disposed so to do, we had better first consult the soldiers who have made the land sacred with their blood. Go and ask the soldiers of the army of the Potomac whether they will retire and leave that soil to be a part and parcel of the "Southern Confederacy." They

will tell you distinctly, "No! This land is made sacred by the blood of our comrades, and it never shall be surrendered to traitors." No sirs, the proud soldiers of the West, the braves of the North and the gallant soldiers of New Jersey will tell you, "This land is ours, and we will keep and maintain it, and here with God's help we will defend it, or lie cold in death's embrace; for we do not intend to give it up, we intend to make our people one nation, under one constitution, and that will be the Constitution of Freedom. Then we shall have but one aim —all men shall be free. Then we shall have Union, then there will be neither division or dissension throughout the length and breadth of the whole land."

Let me say in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that it is not only the duty but the privilege of this legislature to ratify this amendment. That man must be judicially blind, who cannot see in the manner in which the nation has been brought to its present position on this question, the workings of Providence. The treason and rebellion of the South undertaken in the interest of slavery, has been protracted until both the North and the South are debating the method of striking the shackles from the bondmen. The people in the recent election have shown that in the loyal States, the public mind is bent on putting down forever this evil, this demon of discord. It has been from the first the one stain on the escutcheon of the Republic, belying our boasted love of freedom, and weakening the influence of our example. To blot it out now and forever, in the manner pointed out by the constitution itself, will be a blessing, not only to the North but to the South and the whole nation. The war will cease, and the Union will be restored in all its original proportions as a Union of Freemen. The Republic will be a nation in which no slave has a being, and will start afresh on a career of prosperity surpassing even its past history.

I had hoped that there would be in this House no objection to this amendment of Freedom. In this I have been disappointed; but I still hope that when the vote is taken, gentlemen will act without regard to party prejudices, and that both sides of the House will join together in this good work, and I entreat gentlemen to throw aside the trammels of party, and judge this question as statesmen, patriots and lovers of freedom. Victory will soon crown our efforts, the rebellion will be subdued, and the power of the nation restored as it exists under the constitution. Let this amendment be ratified, and our future Union, peace and prosperity will be assured; for this people must be one nation, under one government, and one constitution, and that a Constitution of Freedom. With the definite abolition of slavery all cause of discord and dissension will cease, and even the bloody strife which led to this result, will in time be forgotten in the prosperity and happiness of a nation of Freemen.

Speech of Hon. Leon Abbett.

Mr. Speaker: I have no love for slavery. It neither enlists my sympathies nor commends itself to my judgment. I trust the hour may speedily come, when throughout the whole land it shall be abolished by State legislation. I stand here not to defend slavery but to maintain the sovereignty of the States as guaranteed by the Constitution. The liberties of this people can never be preserved except by a recognition of all the rights of the States. Every blow struck at these rights is an assault upon the liberty of the citizen. Since the formation of the General Government there has been a contest as to the extent of the powers delegated to the Federal Union and those reserved by the States. The National Government is aggressive. It seeks to extend its powers by a too liberal construction of the charter creating it. The States have ever been jealous of the tendency towards centralization. They have felt that their very existence as independent sovereignties rested upon the limitation of these powers by a strict construction of the provisions of the Constitution. So profoundly were they impressed with the necessity of erecting a strong barrier against the encroachments of Federal power, that they amended the Constitution by inserting the following article:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The rights of the States remained secure under this provision until the party in power, unable to encroach upon State rights by construction of the Constitution, have sought to accomplish this purpose by its amendment. The object is still the same. The proposed amendment seeks to remove from the States the control of their own local matters and subject them to Federal legislation.

Support of slavery is no more a part of Democratic faith, than is miscegenation a portion of the creed of the Republicans. Gentlemen here have charged the one upon the Democratic party. I might with equal justice charge the other upon the Republican party, and hold all of its members responsible for every extravagant opinion and ultra idea advocated by prominent men connected with that political organization. Let us be frank and honest with each other while discussing this question. It is neither fair nor manly to charge upon any party the extreme views or the absurd notions of any of its members. The Democratic party maintains the rights of the States to control their local matters, and slavery will never receive from that party any protection other than that incidentally derived from a recognition of this principle. The Democratic party cannot abandon a great principle of government for the problematical good that may possibly result from immediate emancipation by national legislation. It is better to secure emancipation by State legislation. This policy has worked well in the past. "There is but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. There is but one way of judging of the future and that is

by the past." Each State can best regulate this matter for itself, so that while providing for the freedom of the slave, it shall not injure the rights of the citizen.

Gentlemen upon the other side have read to us long extracts from the writings and speeches of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and other great men, intimately associated with the formation of the government, condemning slavery. I believe with them that it is the true policy of every State that all of its inhabitants shall be free. It must not be forgotten, however, that these very men made this Constitution, and passed acts of Congress enforcing its provisions, recognizing property in slaves. Without such recognition in the Constitution, it is well known that the Union could not have been formed. Slavery as it then existed had to be recognized and protected by constitutional provisions in order to create this government. With all their abhorrence of slavery, not one of these great men ever proposed to abolish it by national legislation or amendment of the constitution. They felt the sacredness of the compact they had made, and not one of them ever proposed its violation, either in letter or spirit. Not one of them entertained the idea that the government which owed its existence to a recognition of the right of property in slaves, would use its power to destroy slavery. It was reserved for the Republican party of the present day to originate this novel doctrine of freeing the slaves and interfering with State rights by an amendment of the Constitution.

We have no right to interfere with the local institutions of any State. This was the basis upon which this government was founded. That the proposed amendment is a direct interference with State rights, will be seen by reading it.

"SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The first section abolishes slavery.

The second gives Congress the power to enforce this provision by legislation. It gives Congress the power to *compel* the loyal States of Kentucky and Delaware to free their slaves. The Federal Government may enter these sovereign States, and by force compel its citizens to give up, without compensation, their slaves, which have been recognized as their private property since the formation of the government. If this be not an infringement of the rights of States, I can imagine no assumption of power that might not be equally justified, provided it came in the shape of a Constitutional Amendment.

What reasons are given for this proposed change? I have heard only two. First, that slavery is a great moral wrong. Second, that slavery is the cause of the war. As to the first I would ask, is Congress the judge of the moral wrongs of the several States. Surely the Federal Government was not formed to legislate upon questions of morals. There is no grant of power in the constitution upon which such a

pretence can be founded, and there is nothing in the objects for which the general government was formed that can support a claim to legislate upon such a subject. The question of morals and the peculiar laws desired by the people in the several States, have always been left to State legislation. We now hear, for the first time in the history of the nation, such a right urged on behalf of the United States. Slavery was as great a moral wrong when the Union was formed as it is to-day. It has neither grown better nor worse. If our fathers could tolerate it in the government, and the free States could co-exist side by side with the slave States for over seventy years, I think it is too late for us now to urge its immorality as a reason why it should be abolished. It was the common blood and treasure of the free and slave States that established our independence as a nation. Their common industry has achieved for us a position first among the nations of the earth. Under the constitution, while its provisions were faithfully observed, we became a mighty people. The whole spirit of that instrument is against any legislation by Congress upon the question of the moral wrongs or the religious belief of the citizen. I do not think any gentleman will seriously contend that Congress should legislate upon the moral wrongs in the States, or that the immorality of slavery is a sufficient reason for adopting the proposed amendment.

I will now consider the second reason that slavery was the cause of the war. Slavery was only incidentally connected with the war; the true cause of which will be found in the great struggle and clashing of interests betweeen the sovereignty of the States and the general Government. This question was raised in 1832, when Calhoun attempted nulification in South Caroliua. The tariff was then the trouble; now it happens to be slavey; at another time it will be something else. These questions are only the practical development of the existence of this great conflict between the States and the Federal Government. The extreme men of the North for years vilified and traduced the owners of slaves in the most vindicative manner—calling down upon them the vengeance of heaven, and heaping denunciation and anthema upon them and the institution of slavery, in precisely similar language to that used here to-day. In many instances they went still further, and by State legislation secured personal liberty bills, the practical effect of which could only be to annul the provisions of Congress and the constitution itself, with reference to this species of property. They could not tolerate a moral evil in Louisiana, or in any distant State. It was offensive to them, and although so remote, yet they felt that they ought to legislate concerning it. This was worse than fallacious. It was one of the direct causes of this war. On the other hand, the extreme men of the South, who had for years desired to secede from the Union, made use of these denunciations and anathemas to "fire the Southern heart." Thus the South, under the influence of passion engendered by these acts, drifted into rebellion. Few of their numbers foresaw the terrible consequences involved in secession, until they had gone, as they believed, too far to recede. The Southern men were wrong. I should be the last one to countenance rebellion. The South

should have contended for State rights, not upon the battle-field, but in the halls of Congress and the legislatures of the States. They made a fatal mistake when they threw down the guage of war, and bitterly are they suffering its consequences. I intend to battle for the preservation of the rights of the States in the Union, and shall ever raise my voice against any legislation that tends towards diminishing the power and dignity of the several States. Moreover, the South is contending now, not for slavery, but for independence. Under the policy of the present administration, the South has only the alternative of independence or unconditional submission, with confiscation and emancipation. Whatever may have been the cause of the war, it is clear that the removal of that cause now will neither end the war nor restore the Union. Neither legislation nor amendment of the constitution will free a single slave in the rebellious States nor hasten the end of the war. We must be completely successful in conquering the armies of the South before we can enforce our decree. Should we fail—and the God of battles can alone give victory to our arms—our legislation would operate only against the loyal States of Delaware and Kentucky, and not against the States in rebellion.

There are several reasons that suggest themselves to my mind why I should vote against this amendment.

The time is most inopportune. No man should favor an alteration of the constitution in the midst of civil war. We cannot approach the question with that calmness and deliberation the subject requires. The passions of men are excited. The whole land is convulsed by the mighty struggles of the vast armies met in conflict. The people of eleven States are unrepresented in Congress. Throughout the whole land, hearths are darkened and homes made desolate. Every hour brings tidings to some household of friend or relative slain in battle. The nation is straining all its energies to subdue the rebels in arms. Is this an hour of reason and calmness? Is this a time to discuss changes of the fundamental law? Shall we not be more influenced by passion and vindictiveness than by sound reason and well-matured judgment? Have we not been appealed to in this hall to ratify this amendment in order to punish the South? Passion is the incentive urging forward this measure. Reason is forgotten in the hatred of the hour. We should give our undivided attention to the suppression of the rebellion. When success shall have crowned our efforts to secure a lasting peace and a restored Union, we can calmly and dispassionately discuss this question. Amid the rejoicing of the people for the life of the nation preserved, I would confidently leave this subject to their decision. We should then hear no more of this amendment. Amid the joyous feelings evoked by the termination of the war, we should no longer legislate to punish the South; we would endeavor to heal old wounds by kindness and a spirit of conciliation.

I sincerely regret that there should have been brought into these halls a question so calculated to divide and distract loyal people. We should all be united and bend our whole energies to the single object of subduing the rebels. Let us keep from our midst all questions

which engender party strife, that we may present a united front to this gigantic rebellion.

The mode of amendment is not the one best calculated to obtain a clear expression of the will of the people. Congress has exercised undue haste in forcing this question upon the present legislatures of the States; it has ignored that provision of the constitution by which the decision of this question could have been submitted to conventions assembled for this specific object fresh from the ranks of the people, who could thus vote directly upon this amendment. So grave a question as a change of the constitution should never be mixed up with party issues. It should be acted upon alone, in order that the will of the people may be clearly ascertained. Whatever might be my private convictions, I would willingly abide their judgment. I cannot advocate any amendment that has not first the sanction of the people.

The member from Burlington asserted that this mode of abolishing slavery was submitted directly to the people at the last election, and was a part of the platform of the Republican party. If this statement be true, then the people of this State gave a clear decision against it by nearly eight thousand majority, and we should misrepresent our State by attempting to reverse their verdict by voting for this amendment. New Jersey does not favor slavery; she has abolished it by State legislation; she has also always upheld and asserted the rights of States to control local matters to suit themselves, without national interference. We lie between two powerful States, on the great thoroughfare over which the commerce of the North and South must pass, and it is a proud reflection, that here, the rights of all under the constitution are respected. The soldiers of New Jersey have battled for the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the laws under the constitution; no State has more promptly responded to the calls of the national government; no State has a more glorious record; New Jersey soldiers have maintained the honor of the nation. It belongs to us who remain at home to see that when these war-worn veterans return, they shall find we have guarded that constitution for the supremacy of which they have periled their lives.

This proposed amendment is but the entering wedge. If this be driven home, other attempts will follow until the constitution be rent asunder. Were this amendment to be enforced as the law of the United States, it would free four million slaves. The constitution provides that representation in Congress shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three fifths of all other persons.* If these slaves were free the Southern States, instead of having only three-fifths of four millions in the next apportionment, would have the entire number represented. These freedmen would not have a vote, but the white men of the South would have an additional number of representatives in Congress, and their political power would be largely increased. Is it probable that the party in power desire this? Would it not ask for a further amendment?

No gentleman upon the other side has dared to suggest this; but we have had the response already from one of their prominent men (Prof. Lieber). He states distinctly that such a state of facts could not be tolerated. That this amendment would require another giving representation based upon the number in each State entitled to vote. The object of this further action is either to decrease the number of representatives from the Southern States or compel them to allow the negroes to vote. First, we are to take their property away without compensation, and then force them to allow negro suffrage or submit to a decrease of national representation. Gentlemen imagine that this amendment will end this negro discussion. On the contrary, its adoption will only serve to open the door to the most disturbing questions. This initiative legislation is only the beginning of the end.

I have been surprised that every gentleman on the other side who has spoken upon this subject, has stated that the decision of this question depended upon the vote of New Jersey, and that all now needed to complete the ratification of the amendment was her vote in its favor. Surely gentlemen must have forgotten the express provisions of the constitution. An amendment is only "valid as part of this constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof." There are now thirty-six States in the Union. It therefore requires twenty-seven to make this amendment "a part of the constitution." Eleven States are now in actual rebellion, namely: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas. Take these from the thirty-six, and you have only twenty-five. You then require, to adopt the amendment, not only all the loyal States, but two of the States now in actual rebellion. Moreover, the loyal States of Delaware and Kentucky have decided against the amendment. It therefore requires two more of the seceded States. Four States in actual rebellion must assent to this amendment before it can become part of the constitution. If we count four of these States in favor of this measure, then, and only then, it is true that the vote of New Jersey is also needed to settle the question. Does the Republican party intend to count four of these eleven States? Can it be possible that it contemplates the perpetration of such an outrage upon the American people and the rights of the States? The Senate of the United States, preponderatingly Republican, has refused to count the votes of these eleven States in the electoral college. While the question was under discussion, Senator Hale said that if the election depended upon the votes of Tennessee, Louisiana and Alabama, and they were counted, the party against whom they were counted would not have submitted. That such an act would have produced a second revolution and deluged the North with blood. Senator Wade said, "that the President's proposition that one-tenth of the rebellious States could bring back those States into the Union without any ceremony, was a dangerous one. Louisiana had nothing but the shadow of a civil government. Nothing but the sham semblance of a government could be had in a State till the majority of its people are loyal. The whole State was under mili-

tary control. There could be no free action where military authority was supreme. The elections in these Southern States were all shams. Military power had controlled them, and the people had no voice in the matter. The same communities that repealed these ordinances of secession would have done any thing else they were told to do just as well." I know that several organs of the Republican party have counted the States of Tennessee, Virginia, Louisiana and Arkansas to make up the requisite number of twenty-seven. I did not expect that such a policy would be approved by any member of this House. I see, however, by their statement, that the vote of New Jersey alone is needed, that the Republican members of this House deliberately sanction such a course. Shall I, then, by my vote, make myself a party to such a fraud. And here it may be relevant to inquire, in whom does the law vest the discretion to receive or reject the votes of these "sham" State governments? In the Secretary of the United States, William H. Seward! The official notice of ratification is transmitted to him, and when the number of such notifications amounts to three-fourths of the several States, he is required "forthwith to cause the said amendment to be published in the newspapers authorized to promulgate the laws, with his certificate, specifying the States by which the same may have been adopted, and that the same has become valid to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States." I am unwilling to trust William H. Seward with such discretionary power. He is too much of a partizan, to leave any doubt in my mind what his action would be. He would count four "sham" State governments, and declare the amendment adopted, and the entire military power of the country would be used to enforce his decree. We all know that in this matter Mr. Seward would be the mere creature of the President. The President would support him, because his minister would be only carrying out the doctrines contained in his proclamation concerning the reorganization of State governments in rebellious States by the vote of one-tenth of the inhabitants thereof. Not only would the rights of nine-tenths of the people of these States be disregarded, but even the loyal States of Delaware and Kentucky would be robbed of their property, under the color of law.

All these possible contingencies show that this is no time to amend the constisution. An amendment thus made and thus enforced would as inevitably lead to serious civil disturbance as would an election depending on the votes of the "sham" States in the Electoral College. If such action be attempted, rebellion may not be confined to its present limits. There may be other revolutions. The people will not submit to such outrages upon their rights. There is a point where men will resist the illegal encroachments of power. We have done much to sustain our Government against unjust rebellion, and we are willing to do all that may be necessary to compel obedience to the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof. The Administration must not attempt to ruthlessly trample upon the rights of the people, or they may find that we still know how to maintain and defend the liberties our ancestors purchased with their blood. The

people of the several States will not submit to the entire destruction of their rights under the Constitution.

The friends of this amendment contemplate the perpetration of a great political crime. Enforce this measure, and you take from the loyal States of Delaware and Kentucky, without compensation, millions of dollars of property, always conceded to be such under their State laws, and the laws of the United States. Why should we rob the citizens of Delaware and Kentucky? Is abolition of slavery intended as punishment for rebellion? These States have never rebelled. They have always been loyal. True, they have, like New Jersey, been Democratic, but is this a reason why their rights and property should not be respected? The party in power should remember that the administration at Washington could not have existed a day had not the Democrats of the North rallied to its support in its time of need. What State has suffered so severely for its loyalty as Kentucky? Her soil has been made a battle-ground, her property has been wasted by war, thousands of her citizens have given their lives to the Union. She has not only contended with enemies abroad but with traitors at home, who, large in numbers and powerful in influence, have sought to drag her into the vortex of secession. She has remained steadfast to the Union amid sore trials and tribulations. Her loyalty has been submitted to the severest tests—tests to which no other State has been subjected. Is not the nation largely indebted to her for the noble stand she has taken, and the unflinching steadfastness with which she has maintained it? Have we no admiration for her great love of the Union? Even if she has no rights which we are bound to respect, common sympathy and gratitude should induce us to do nothing in violation of her rights, and should prevent us from attempting to take from her loyal citizens their property without compensation. Her fidelity to the Union should be rewarded, Her citizens are not rebels to be punished.

The proposed mode of freeing the slaves is a departure from the settled policy of the country, which has been established by unvarying precedents. Every State heretofore has emancipated its slaves by State legislation. Maryland and Missouri have just done this. Why depart from this plan now, to enter upon the untried paths of national emancipation? The policy of immediately liberating four millions of ignorant and degraded slaves, without any provision for their education, colonization, or future government and welfare, is, to say the least, doubtful. When this matter is left for State action, the legislature always provides for the new condition of things. We cannot (as suggested by the member from Burlington) drive these men from the country. They must be cared for by legislation until they are able to intelligibly appreciate their change of condition, and take care of themselves. They must be educated and provided for, many years, before they can depend entirely upon themselves. All these matters can best be settled by State legislation specially adapted to the varying wants of each locality. Where there are few slaves, the policy of immediate emancipation may be adopted. Where they are in great numbers,

different legislation may be needed. State legislation will best secure the rights of all.

The adoption of this amendment will retard the restoration of the Union and delay the return of that peace which all good men earnestly desire. This amendment seeks to settle in advance one of the conditions of peace. It says to the States in rebellion you can come back only with emancipation and confiscation—with the loss not only of the property of your citizens, but the rights of your States. Will not men fight longer and fiercer when defeat involves submission upon such a basis. They are of the same race as ourselves, and will not yield to dishonorable terms any sooner than we would.

Again, I entreat gentlemen not to introduce into these Halls questions that are calculated to divide and distract the loyal people of the North? Let us have but one common object—the restoration of the Union. I hope our armies will be successful in the coming eventful campaign, and that this rebellion will be speedily crushed. If the rebellious States by a prolonged resistance should lose their slaves by the natural operation of the war, then it is a consequence they have brought upon themselves by their rebellion. It is our duty to do all we can to sustain our army and navy in this struggle, not to dispute among ourselves. When the war shall be ended we can then deal with the slavery question as we find it. Amid the rejoicings of peace and the kindly feeling it will bring we shall forget the passions engendered by civil strife, and deal not only justly but magnanimously and generously with those who thenceforth battle with us under one flag against the enemies of our common country. Do not destroy the joy that a restored Union will give us, by the sad reflection that in a moment of passion we sacrificed the rights of the States. Have courage and fortitude. Resist insidious attempts to break down the rights of the States. Let New Jersey stand as a rocky isle against which the waves vainly beat, though swept round by ocean storms. Be not swayed by the wild passions of the hour. Be not tossed upon the billows of popular excitement without chart or compass. Stand now as we have always stood, firmly upon the Constitution, loving the Union and maintaining the sovereignty of the States.

Speech of Hon. James H. Nixon.

Mr. Speaker:—The question before us is as broad as our common country. Our State is to-day acting through us in her federal capacity. She is about to take a relative position on this question along with her sister States, that will affect her character upon the page of history, and as a Jerseyman "to the manor born," I am anxious that our action shall be such as will bear the scrutiny of history, and the advancing civilization of the age. It is a question which has been evoked

by the terrible events of the times, and upon the absolute and final settlement of what it proposes, depends in my judgment much of the prospective happiness and prosperity of our country. Let us act then, with an overmastering sense of our responsibility, shaking off for a time our party trammels and predilections. The gentleman from Hudson, (Mr. Abbett,) says that we on this side of the house have displayed too much party feeling in this discussion. The charge comes with very bad grace from that gentleman, or any gentleman on his side, for certainly no remarks yet made have even approached in bitterness and malignity of party spirit those made by the gentleman from Middlesex. (Mr. Goble,) who spoke yesterday on this question. But we need not handle this as a party measure—it does not come to us in that character. Had it not been for the action of men in Congress of both parties, democratic as well as republican, this subject would not be before us to-day. The party to which we on this side of the House belong, are not alone responsible for this measure, therefore, let us look at it not through the jaundiced medium of party, but in the clear light of justice, truth and humanity; not as narrow-minded partizans, but as men anxious only for the good of the commonwealth and the Republic. It will compromise no man's position with his party by voting for this measure, for the intelligent, thinking men of the country, of all sects and parties, seem unanimous in their desire to get forever rid of the slavery issue as an element of political dispute, if for nothing else.

The gentleman from Hudson founded his argument upon the doctrine of State sovereignty. That formed the basis of all he said. If his premises had been correct, his argument might have had some force; but he built upon a sandy foundation and the whole structure must fall. I am not a little surprised that the gentleman should contend so earnestly at this late day in favor of the theories of John C. Calhoun. State sovereignty has been a dangerous doctrine in this country, a veritable Pandora's Box, full to overflowing with direful plagues. The States of this Federal Union are not sovereign in the sense in which the gentleman uses the term. The chief attributes of sovereignty were surrendered by them when this government was formed. The Constitution of the United States which our fathers agreed should be the supreme law of the land, says—no State shall coin money, nor emit bills of credit, nor pass ex post facto laws, nor laws impairing the obligation of contracts, nor maintain armies and navies, nor grant letters of marque, nor make compacts with other States, nor hold intercouse with foreign powers, nor grant titles of nobility. Wherein does the sovereignty of the States exist after such a surrender? To call them sovereign is a perversion of language. The States were once sovereign. They were so under the articles of confederation, and if the gentleman's speech had been made then, it might have had some weight. But it was to do away with State sovereignty and form a more perfect union, that the present government of the United States was organized. The articles of confederation were defective, there was no centripetal force holding the States together. It was a compact, a copartnership. The language of those articles was, "the said States hereby enter into a

firm league of friendship with each other;" but the Constitution of the United States says, "we the people do ordain and establish this Constitution." The people, and not the States, established this government. A contract requires two parties, here there is but one—we the people. The language of a contract according to Blackstone, is, "we will or will not do this"—that of a law is, "thou shalt or shall not do it." In our government the States do not say we will, but the Constitution says they shall do thus and so. The Supreme Court of the United States in a celebrated case, held this language. "It has been said that the States were sovereign, were completely independent, and were connected with each other by a league. This is true. But when these allied sovereignties converted their league into a government, when they converted their congress of ambassadors into a legislature, empowered to enact laws, the whole character in which the States appear underwent a change." It is so. They changed from petty sovereignties into a central, consolidated government. It has been said that this is not a consolidated government; but our fathers have left their testimony on this subject, and it should be conclusive. Surely they knew what kind of government they were making; I have too much respect for the judgment and wisdom of the great men of that day to suppose that they were ignorant of what they were doing. Patrick Henry opposed the new government because it was central and consolidated. He said, "that this is a consolidated government is demonstrably clear. The language is, we the people, instead of we the States. It must be one great consolidated government." Another statesman of that day said, speaking of the formation of the Constitution, "in all our deliberations we kept steadily in view that which appeared to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union." I, therefore, maintain that the premises upon which the gentleman from Hudson based his remarks being false, the whole argument falls to the ground. We should take a practical view of this question and not seek to revive the exploded heresies of the past.

The Congress of the United States, having passed by a two-thirds vote the amendment which has been read several times in your hearing, have submitted it to the legislatures of the various States for ratification, according to the first method prescribed for ratifying amendments in the fifth article of the Constitution. The gentleman from Hudson labored hard to prove that there is something dangerous in the second section of the proposed amendment. He sees, or thinks he sees, some new and extraordinary power conferred upon Congress that will pave the way to future invasions of the rights of the States. He seems to look upon it as an indirect usurpation on the part of Congress. Let us look at both sections, for there are only two.

SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. *Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*

Now, Mr. Speaker, I can discover no ground for the gentleman's

fears. They are but the creations of his imagination. The section proposes to give no unusual power to Congress. I would be willing to strike it out, for it would not in the least change the effect of the amendment. It gives to Congress no power which it does not already possess, for what article is there in the Constitution that Congress cannot enforce by appropriate legislation? It is the duty of Congress to prevent and punish any infringement of the Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land, and this second section in no way adds to or limits the Congressional power.

The object of the amendment cannot be stated more clearly than in the language of the amendment itself. It proposes to do away with slavery, forever, in the United States and in all places subject to their jurisdiction. Ought this to be done? and if so, why? It ought to be done, leaving all other considerations out, for the present, because slavery is wrong in itself, radically and fundamentally wrong, and utterly at variance with all our natural instincts of right and justice between man and man. There is no principle of our nature but teaches us that it is wrong for one man to enrich himself by the unrequited, involuntary toil of his fellow man. It is only when weighed down to the earth by the yoke of power, with all energy and ambition lost, that any man, white or black, will ever submit to be the slave and chattel of another. Slavery had its origin in man's selfish propensity, aided by his possession of power. Human slavery is founded upon human oppression. If oppression is right, then slavery may be. If either is wrong, then both are. But of all forms of oppression, none is so absolute, none is so revolting in its details as that which the American people are about to remove from their midst. We talk of the enslaved nations of Poland and Hungary, and claiming to be a liberty-loving people, have often given expression to our sympathy for them. But the political slavery they suffer is not to be compared with that which we have fostered here at home. The tyranny that enchains them does not invade the sacred precincts of home, nor clutch at and tear the heart-strings of affection. But American slavery does. It claims the right to put asunder that which God has joined together. It respects neither the marital or parental ties, but tramples upon both. It makes a chattel of female virtue and hands over the body and soul of many whose sensibilities are as keen as our own, to the living death of involuntary pollution. It makes the education of the black man, our fellow man nevertheless, a penal offence, lest by thus drawing out his faculties he should come to know his rights and have the manhood to assert them. That an institution of this kind should exist in our midst so long as it did without bringing down upon us Jehovah's vengeance, is a marval. But it has come at last, and we who tolerated, and especially they who cherished the iniquity and lived by it, are, indeed, treading the wine-press of God's wrath. But the gentleman from Hudson says we have nothing to do with the moral aspect of this question—that if slavery is wrong, we are not accountable, as it is not protected by our local laws. We have, Mr. Speaker, much to do with the morality of this question. It is not sufficient to answer these plain

truths about slavery by saying that if it be wrong the master and slave must stand side by side at the bar of God, and here alone the charge of guilt must be settled, and that we are clear of it. We are as a nation answerable. It was the broad ægis of our common country that shielded the institution and gave to it all the life and vigor it ever had, and we as parties to the government were partakers in the crime, and national guilt must be atoned for by national suffering.

But were I not a believer in this doctrine, there are other controlling reasons why I should vote to ratify this amendment. I would do it for reasons purely political, if for no other. From the foundation of the government, it has been an element of discord among us. For its first introduction here, the Puritan of New England, and the Cavalier of the South are perhaps equally to blame. We cannot undo the past, nor does it help the matter to say, as some have in this debate, that both sections are alike responsible for the establishment of slavery on this continent. I will admit it, and allow gentlemen who conceive that it has any bearing upon this question to make the most of it. I can see no argument in it. It is only from the time that our fathers in their wisdom laid the foundation of our Federal Government, that I desire to deal with it in this discussion.

Conscious of the defects of the old government established by the articles of confederation, which was a government only in name, our ancestors formed the one under which we now live. At that early, baptismal day of the republic, slavery developed its antagonism to free government, and it was by concession alone that the difficulty could be disposed of and unity secured. It has been admitted by both sides in this discussion, that slavery was the chief obstacle in the formation of this government. It is a part of our early history known to all, and I need not stop to quote from the authorities which I have before me. But both the republic and slavery were then in their infancy, and for the sake of the greater good which a better government promised, our fathers were conciliatory concerning what they deemed to be minor questions. Believing slavery to be an institution of short life, existing only by sufferance, and destined soon to pass away in the natural order of events, they did not think it wise to risk all that for which they had endured the fiery trials of the revolution by putting away the evil then. They saw the hateful deformity of the child, but never thought it would grow to manhood. Would to Heaven that then and there in its cradle, our fathers had put to death this hell born child, slavery, as the Athenian parents were wont to do with their deformed offspring. But their work was delicate, and the difficulties surrounding them were great. They were about to inaugurate a government upon new principles. The untried, stormy future was before them. They founded the republic, they watched its infant years with their prayers and anxious hopes, and we bless their memories for it. But when republicanism was no longer an experiment, when the fathers had most of them gone to their rest, when we no longer feared external foes, our greatest foe appeared from within, and those of our own household, divinity teaches us are the worst. Slavery now commenced its conflict with the re-

public. Its aggressive spirit first showed an organized, dangerous front in 1820, at which time it took the best talent and wisdom of the country to avert the impending collision. In 1845 the common blood and treasure of the nation were spent in extending the area of slave territory, according to the testimony of John C. Calhoun himself, by whose instigation and diplomacy the Mexican war was brought about. In 1850, this same question of slavery well nigh snapped every band that held the republic in one. Again in 1854 the strife was renewed in all its virulence, and was continued with only intermittent force until the year 1861, when statesmanship, concession, argument and warning alike ceased to have any virtue, and the lurid blaze of civil war, long pent up, but murmuring from below like volcanic fire, burst forth to its consuming work of desolation and death.

The history of the last four years is written with fire and blood. One section of our country, and that, too, the fairest portion of God's green earth, is fast becoming the very abomination of desolation. The wasted plains and ruined cities of the South are the visible monuments of the struggle, while the greater desolations of the heart exist silently and unseen. The flower of her youth and the glory of her manhood moulder together beneath the red field of strife. Here at the North, we cannot point to our mouldering cities and charred homesteads, yet what fireside has not been invaded? What family but has not one or more among the "unreturning brave?" The widow in her weeds daily crosses our path, we hourly meet the orphans of the patriot dead, while the graves of the brave heroes of the republic fringe the river banks and dot the hillsides of almost every Southern State. Contemplating these tragic but every-day realities, we are ready to exclaim, how long, oh, Lord, how long! But reason will answer the question which our emotions prompt. It will last until we remove the causes of our woe. Effects follow causes by an inexorable law. The patient will be sick while the disease remains, and this civil strive will never entirely cease until we get rid of slavery, which has caused it. Yet in the face of history, in the face of truth and testimony, the gentleman from Hudson tells us that slavery was not in his opinion the cause of this war. I affirm that it was. Reason as we may, look at the hideous question from whatever stand point we may choose, the result of our reasoning will in every case be the same. We will discard, for the moment, our own opinion and let our enemies be the judges. Alexander H. Stephens, whose candor and honesty are well known, in his speech delivered after he was elected Vice-President of the Confederacy, made this frank confession. Said he "*African slavery as it exists among us was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and present revolution.* The prevailing idea entertained by most of the leading statesmen, at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle socially, morally, and politically." Such is the testimony of Mr. Stephens. The gentleman from Hudson says that slavery was not the cause of the rebellion—the Vice-President of the Confederacy says it was. Judge ye between them.

As slavery has been the parent of all the calamities of civil war that we are now suffering, in God's name, let us get rid of it forever. With it, we can never be a united people in the true sense of the word. We may establish for a time the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws, but will even then be a divided people, with different institutions, different interest, and different aims. The Union restored with slavery, will be a union only in name, just as it was for six years before this struggle. We cannot afford to stop with half-way measures now, we have sacrificed and suffered too much for that. The only way to ever make us a truly united people, is to do away as soon as possible with that which has divided us so long. We will then emerge from this conflict regenerated and purified, ready to start anew in a career of progress and prosperity that will eclipse the past, bright as that has been. Slavery removed, and the South herself will rise Phœnix-like, from the ashes of her desolation, and the vestiges of her sorrow and crime will, soon disappear. We will then feel that this war has not been in vain—we will be a stronger and I trust a better nation. England owes not a little of the matchless stability of her government to the civil conflicts of her earlier history. By them she learned the defects in her Constitution, and rectified them. We may profit by her example. We are called on to-day to signify our approval of a measure which will remove from our Constitution its worst defect. Slavery and the Republic can never again live together on this continent—this war has settled that beyond cavil or doubt. We must give up the one or the other, and we can never have a better opportunity than is now offered us to show which of the two we love most.

By the amendment that Congress has submitted to us, we have a peaceful and lawful way of disposing of the vexed question of American slavery. Other means have been proposed by those who seemed anxious only for the good of the country, but they were bitterly opposed on the ground of unconstitutionality. Conceiving the institution of slavery to be an element of power to those in armed rebellion against the government, the President issued his famous emancipation proclamations of September, 1862, and January, 1863; but the President's policy seemed to meet with scarcely less opposition than the rebellion itself. To weaken the power of the insurgents, Congress passed the Confiscation Act, but the same cry of unconstitutionality rang through the land. Whether these acts were or were not constitutional, this is not the time or place to discuss. It is sufficient to say that they were opposed violently, persistently, and uncompromisingly on that ground. But if we allow that all the former acts on this subject were unconstitutional, we claim that this measure is strictly constitutional and right, and he who has the hardihood to deny it takes counsel of his prejudices rather than of his reason. Can the Constitution of the United States be amended at all? Certainly, it can. Then, how? In the way provided in the instrument itself. The fifth article of the Constitution says, "The Congress whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States shall call a convention

for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress." Now has Congress complied with the requirements of the article? Congress passed the proposed amendment by a two-thirds vote—that is known, it is history; and it chose, as it had perfect right, to submit the amendment to the Legislatures of the several States. The procedure, then, has been constitutional. But the gentleman from Middlesex (Mr. Goble) says that this is not an amendment, that it has nothing to do with the Constitution, that it is something which in nowise relates thereto, and about which the Constitution says nothing. His argument is entirely too narrow. The same objection can be raised against a majority of all the amendments that have ever been made to the instrument. Take up the twelve amendments heretofore made, and you will find that nearly all of them relate to subjects about which the instrument itself is silent.—And his argument leads him farther. It amounts to this—that whatever may in the course of time by the changing events of the age, or by the progress and development of the country, make it desirable or necessary for us to incorporate into our Constitution, we yet cannot do it, however urgent the necessity, unless there is already something in the Constitution touching upon it. Our fathers were not able to read the future and foretell the changes, or anticipate all the wants that might arise, and it is simply absurd to argue that we cannot change or amend the Constitution in a lawful manner, if the necessities of the times require it.

There are but two things mentioned in the Constitution concerning which changes cannot be made. They are contained in the proviso of the fifth article, where it says, "that no State without its consent shall be deprived of equal suffrage in the Senate," and the other is in the first paragraph of the ninth section of the first article, which relates to the importation of negroes prior to the year 1808. Upon no other subject is the power of Congress to amend the Constitution restricted. It, therefore, follows that whatever is not in violation of the avowed objects of the Constitution, may be added to that instrument in the manner provided therein, and I claim that the only object of the amendment now proposed is to render our Union more perfect, to ensure domestic tranquility, which we so much need, and, at the same time, to secure the blessings of liberty not only to us, but to four millions of God's down-trodden, suffering children of the African race.

There seems to be in the minds of some a sanctity about slavery which makes it almost sacrilege to touch it even in a way which they admit is constitutional. They tell us that our fathers never meant that we should interfere with it, but I never heard anything that I thought deserved the name of an argument adduced in support of that doctrine. If the framers of the Constitution meant any such thing, why did they not include it among the subjects already alluded to, upon which Congress has no right to amend the Constitution? That would have settled

the matter. They did not do it, and the reason is plain to all who have read the history of those times and know the character of the great men of that day. The language of Mr. Stephens which I quoted awhile ago bears upon this point, where he says "the prevailing ideas entertained by most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were that the enslavement of the African race was in violation of the law of nature, that it was wrong in principle, socially and political."

They doubtless expected that those who succeeded them in the exercise of the government would sooner or later take up the question and dispose of it—they left it open for that purpose. We did not settle it in the peaceful days of the republic. It became profitable to us, and we fostered the evil and made apologies for it until now we are forced to face it by the pressure of the calamities it has entailed upon us.

Then if this measure is constitutional, is it expedient to abolish slavery? Unquestionably. If this Capitol should take fire and threaten to engulph us in the flames, would it not be expedient to stay the conflagration *and remove the cause of it?* The people deem it expedient; they have spoken with decided unanimity. The political creed of the party which elected Mr. Lincoln embraced this very subject in one of its articles. It was held up before the people, they saw it, they thought about, they understood it. Their verdict was given on the 8th day of November last. The voice of the people spoke emphatically in favor of this amendment, and *vox populi, vox dei.* It is the will of the country that slavery shall be removed. Let us of New Jersey, not oppose the execution of that will, let us yield to the general desire. New Jersey did not cast her vote for Mr. Lincoln, yet she submits to the choice of the people and obeys the requirements of his administration. We are but one of a large family of States, yet upon our action depends the success of this amendment for the present year at least. But only for the present year, I believe. The question is still before the country no matter how we decide to-day; and if we reject it now, I think I know the temper and character of Jerseymen well enough to predict that next year the amendment will be ratified by a two-thirds vote. We cannot affect the final destiny of this measure—the fiat of liberty has gone forth, God has decreed that this country shall be free. But I do not want the day postponed. I want the government to now have the great moral support which a hearty ratification of this amend. ment will give it.

Were I a member of the democratic party, as it is called, a party whose traditions and history form so large a part of the history of our country, I would vote for this amendment, if for no higher and better reason, than for the welfare and salvation of my party. It is clinging to the old and exploded doctrine that slavery is sanctified by the Constitution, that has brought the democratic party to the verge of the political grave. The only way given under heaven whereby that party can be saved, is to cut loose from the dead carcass of slavery, and learn some new lessons from the clear logic of present events. I will not believe until the vote is taken, that all who represent that party on this

floor are still the worshippers of the great Moloch of Slavery on whose bloody altar so many of our brave countrymen have been immolated.

The gentleman from Hudson still advocates his pet idea of submitting this question to the people at a special election. He says the people have not sufficiently considered it. But he is strangly inconsistent. In supporting these amendments proposed by the judiciary committee yesterday morning, and again in his speech last evening, he said we should let the people of the State decide this matter; yet in another part of the same speech he said that they did express themselves against it at the last election by over seven thousand majority. Whatever our opinion may be on that subject, this proposition to ratify the amendment by popular vote is as useless as it is novel. The Constitution makes no provision for a ratification in that way. It is no ratification at all. The Constitution prescribes two methods by which amendments may be ratified, and this is a compliance with neither. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and when the law directs how any given thing shall be done, it means that it shall be performed in that manner and in no other. Congress has sent the amendment to the Legislatures of the various States. Having chosen that method, it is by them alone that it can be ratified. We have no right or authority to adopt any new way. Our constituents expect us to meet this issue like men, and not come back to them for advice. If the people in other parts of the State are like they are in my district, they will condemn any unmanly shriking of responsibility.

The record of our action to-day will not pass to the pages of our statute books there to remain entombed to all the world, except to those whose duty it may be to administer or expound the law. It will be read by those who come after us, and I am anxious that it shall be such as we will not be ashamed of in the future. I want New Jersey to keep step with the progressive movements of the age in favor of human liberty and political equality. Russia has stricken the manacles from twenty millions of her oppressed children. Italy whose name is hallowed by so many classic memories, stands erect in freedom, and the story of her past thraldom will only heighten the romance of her history. Shall we of America who breathe an air redolent of freedom, hold back and hesitate to let the oppressed go free? Shall we of New Jersey, who live on a soil sanctified by the martyred blood of the revolution, declare in the face of the world, in this nineteenth century of Christ, our adhence to the system of human bondage? God forbid it.

We live in times crowded with great events. These weeks and months are no longer than they were in the perceful years of the past, but they will stretch like ages on the panorama of history. Our advancing armies are shaking the Continent with their impetuous tread, and making the vault of heaven ring with their hallelujahs of victory.—While they fight, let us emancipate, and we shall share the glory with them; for when the storm-clouds of war have swept by, and we again shall enjoy the blessings of peace and unity, it will be found, and the muse of history will so recorded it, that the adoption of this constitu-

tional amendment, whereby our nation is made free, was, although bloodless, one of the brightest, perhaps the brightest achievement in this great contest of the ages.

Speech of Hon. Bernard Kearney.

Mr. Speaker :—With due deference to the sentiments entertained by gentlemen of the opposition, who are strenuously endeavoring to solder this amendment to the Constitution of the United States, I deem it a mesure which is incompatible with the happiness of our people, a willful and wicked attempt to subvert our republican institutions, and destructive to the perpetuity of our voluntary system of government. This amendment is justly termed an innovation of the supreme law of the land, which has been the strength and bulwark of our domestic prosperity, the envy of surrounding nations, and the terror of despotism throughout the world. Our present Constitution has been sanctioned by the wisdom of the ablest, the wisest, and most learned jurists, legislators and patriots throughout the length and breadth of our once happy and prosperous Republic for nearly four score years. This proposed amendment is an insidious attempt of the Administration to destroy sovereignty of the States, which they are endeavoring to ignore, although that sovereignty is now appealed to for the consummation of the very wrong which will enable Congress to treat the States as mere dependencies of a consolidated form of despotism at Washington.—For this purpose the AMENDMENT is now submitted to the Legislature of New Jersey, in expectation that the Democratic representatives will endorse the destructive acts of an administration which, from the moment it entered on its official duties, has ever shown a willingness to violate and trample under foot all Constitutional obligations.

The supporters of the administration, the shoddy contractors, who have become wealthy through our national misfortunes, and are now basking in the sunshine of political influence and treasury greenbacks, are uniting in their endeavors to force this amendment through three-fourths of the Legislatures of the United States, already whirling with increasing velocity around the verge of a political and destructive malestrom.

It is said one fact is worth a hundred arguments, and to this one I call your most serious attention. Long before the Constitution was formed slavery existed and were considered property, whether living in Northern or Southern States, and the authors or framers of the Constitution acknowledged that species of property as legal as any other possessed by the people. If they had not done so the Constitution would not have been ratified by all the States, would *never*, *never* have been consummated. The 10th Article of the amendment to the Con-

stitution of the United States of America says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." It is evident, and therefore unnecessary to attempt to give any explanation to this article, which clearly enunciates that the powers not delegated to the United States must belong to the States, except such as are prohibited to them or to the people.

But I would here respectfully call the attention of our Republican friends to the fact that, for the past eighty years, we have acknowledged slaves to be property, per Article 1st and Sec. 9 of the Constitution. The clause will be understood as referring to the slave trade. My argument is to show that we have a fundamental law, but no power to amend it, whereby you can legally deprive the people of any of the States of their property. In the year 1787, a compromise was entered into between the people of the New England and the Southern States for the better regulation of commerce, and it was stipulated by the said parties that the slave-trade should be permitted to continue and extend to the year 1808. Then such traffic to cease. During the intervening time the New England Puritans were not slow to prosecute, with unceasing industry, the *unholy traffic*, supplying the Southern people with ship load after ship load of African slaves from the coast of Guinea, and returning to New England with Southern money and Southern produce in exchange for the poor negroes. Then our pious Puritans were driving a lucrative business, and acquiring princely fortunes from investments made in carrying on this unhallowed business. Now their descendants, with elongated countenances and upturned eyeballs, shaking with great significance their hypocritical heads, denounce slavery as the "sum of all villanies." This bloody internecine civil war against our own brethren was inaugurated and forced upon the county by a horde of abolition crusaders, who are unwilling to shoulder a musket themselves to save the Union; but are willing to involve the country in a most enormous debt, by issuing bonds for the payment of immense bounties, offered principally to foreigners to go as substitutes to fight their battles, whilst these puissant heroes and their valiant sons enroll their names among the Loyal Leaguers, or the Royal Battalion of Home Guards, for the protection of their own immediate domestic institutions.

A book agent once called on me to solicit my approval of a new reading book. Its title was the "American Manual." It contained, besides many other important political lessons, "The Declaration of Independence," "The Constitution of the United States," and an extended commentary thereon, &c., &c. The principal object was for our youth of both sexes to study these lessons thoroughly; but of late years throughout the country, particularly in the New England States, certain gentlemen of the clerical order, are known to have ascended the holy rostrum and, with vehemence of action and bitterness of invective, denounced our glorious Constitution as "a league with death and a covenant with hell;" and, to mark their abhorrence of such a wicked composition, a copy of the said Constitution was publicly committed to

the flames on Boston Commons, only a few years ago, on the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. But, sir, the practice of violating this fundamental law of self-government has been and continues to be of frequent occurence under our immaculate administration, of whom I desire to speak with caution and a certain degree of respect; especially His Excellency, "Honest Old Abe," our jocular national story-teller. He, you will remember, was in the habit of making humorous speeches, in one of which he pleasantly reminded the public that "Nobody was hurt."

You will also remember that in his inaugural address, Honest Old Abe informed the country that the affairs of government would be conducted on strictly national principles; and he would not interfere with the peculiar institutions of the South. "Apprehensions," said he, "seem to exist among the people in the Southern States, that by the accession of a republican administration their property, their peace and personal security are to be endangered. * * * * I do but quote from one of my speeches, when I declare that I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. *I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.*" Another great truth was enunciated by President Lincoln, when he was a member of Congress in 1848. You will observe it was based upon the same principle for which the Southern people are now contending in battle array against our forces. Listen to the wisdom of the eminent statesman who now "rides the whirlwind and directs the storm."

"Any people, anywhere, having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better."

These words were uttered when the American people were sympathizing with the Hungarians, then in active revolution against the Austrian government; and contending for that sovereignty, which is the attribute of the people and not of the government. Another great truth from President Lincoln's inaugural message; that infallible sage, patriot and statesman; the benefactor of the human race, whose name will be held in perpetual benediction, by the widows he has made, and their fatherless offspring in both Northern and Southern States, endowed with the glorious privilege to beg, or starve. And this, this the *second Washington*, the great man whom our republican abolition friends delight to honor!

"Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical question as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

Another great statesman, though removed by death, yet lives in the hearts of the people. I refer to a speech delivered by Daniel Webster, in Faneuil Hall, March 7th, 1850. He prophesied thus: "If the fanatics and abolitionists ever get power in their hands they will override the Constitution, set the Supreme Court at defiance, change and make laws to suit themselves, lay violent hands on those who differ with them in their opinions, or dare to question their infallibility; and finally bank-

rupt the country, and deluge it with blood." You must acknowledge there has been an awful fulfillment of this prediction during the past four years of abolition sovereignty. What will be the ultimate destiny of our beloved country is at present concealed from human vision; but we should earnestly pray to Almighty God to deliver our country from the domination of this sanguinary administration.

With your permission I will read an extract from a speech by that great statesman, Alexander Hamilton, in the Convention held in the State of New York, for the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. He said:

"The States can never lose these powers, till the whole people of America are robbed of their liberties. They must go together. They must support each other or meet a common fate. I wish the committee to remember, that the Constitution under examination is framed upon truly republican principles, and that, as it is expressly designed for a common protection and the general welfare of the United States, it must be utterly repugnant to this Constitution to subvert the States government, or oppress the people. The coercion of States is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised. A failure of compliance will never be confined to a single State. This being the case, can we sup pose it wise to hazard a civil war? It would be a nation at war with itself. Can any reasonable man be well disposed toward a government that makes war and carnage the only means of supporting itself—a government that can exist only by the sword?—every such war must involve the innocent with the guilty. This single consideration should not be inefficient to dispose every peaceable citizen against such a government." Let our opponents who persist in the vigorous prosecution of the war for the subjugation of our Southern brethren, read what Madison said at the Convention, which gave the Constitution to the States for adoption:

"The more I reflect on the use of force, the more I doubt the practicability of it when applied to a people collectively. The use of an armed force against a disobedient State, or States, would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would be rightly considered a dissolution of the previous compacts by which it might be bound. The most jarring elements, fire and water, are not more incompatible than such a strange mixture of civil liberty, and military execution. Will the militia march from one State to another for the purpose of coercion? If they do, will not the citizens of invaded States assist one another until they rise as one man, and shake off what they will denounce as the *hated Union*, altogether. If you subjugate them, how are you to hold them under a Constitution, that is to be imposed to insure domestic tranquility and promote the general welfare."

I would earnestly request your attention to review with me the following clauses of our violated Constitution:

ART. 1st, Sec. 9. "The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it."

ART. 3d, Sec. 3. "No person shall be convicted of treason, unless

on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court."

ART. 4th, Sec. 3. "No new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State * * * * without the consent of the legislature of the State concerned, as well as of the Congress."

Is not Kanawha in the Western State of Virginia, sufficient testimony to convince any unprejudiced mind, of a violated Constitution?

Article 4th of the Constitution says: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unwarrantable searches and seizures, shall not be violated: and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or thing to be seized."

In another Article we read:

"The right of the people to bear arms shall not be infringed. And Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

Now, sir, the Constitution has been violated in the letter and in the spirit with impunity, by those wicked minions of the administration; though bound by solemn obligations to support it. In our own immediate vicinity, conservative newspapers have been suspended, and their editors either mulcted in a heavy fine, or incarcerated in the damp casements of the government bastile—Fort Lafayette. This is testimony enough to the violation of these fundamental rights of *freedom*. The President on the day of his inauguration took the following solemn oath:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Speaker: It is unnecessary to ask the question, How has this oath been kept? For why did Congress pass an *ex post facto* law, but to shield the President from an act of impeachment for the violation of the Constitution? In times anterior to his elevation to the Presidency, he openly avowed sentiments in favor of State sovereignty, based upon the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence; "that the people have the right to alter or abolish their form of government, and to institute a new one which would suit them better."

From the reputation of Abraham Lincoln previous to his elevation to the Presidency his friends and opponents generally conceded that he was honest (if such a quality ever existed in any legal fraternity); but once in Washington, suroounded by evil counsellors, they distilled into his ears their poisonous and corrupting ideas and Honest Old Abe became their victim. It reminds me of what the poet said:

"But, ah! the hot polluted air
Of foul corruption gathered there,
Soon chang'd our President, once so civil,
To be a sanguinary d——l.

The Constitution of Massachusetts (after a lengthy discussion on the powers to be delegated to their representatives) most solemly affirms:

"That the people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State; and do, and forever hereafter shall exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not, or may not hereafter be by them expressly delegated, to the United States."

The members of the Democratic party have always been energetic advocates and supporters of State sovereignty; legitimately adhering to the letter of the Constitution and the written expositions thereon by the most learned jurists of our country, who affirm that the Federal Government in its formotion was simply a contract between the "*thirteen original States*" to exercise their sovereign powers jointly in matters pertaining to their common rights; that it is the creature of the States, their general agent with delegated powers.

Mr. Speaker—You are aware that after four years of the most relentless warfare that ever stained the historic page, and which has brought upon our people national calamities, not equalled in ancient or modern times, notwithstanding the insidious attempts of our opponents to induce the people to swerve from their allegiance to fundamental laws, the Democracy yet stond firm in their primitive dignity on the broad platform of national principles within the pale of the Constitution, if such an instrument still exists. The Democracy of New Jersey, still strong in attachment to their ancient political faith; incorruptible, as in the palmiest days of revolutionary fame, expect their representatives to do their whole duty, and unite in voting down this *unconstitutional amendment*. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, it is of vital importance to know that sufficient evidence exists of the designs of the administration that they are determined not to abandon this bloody civil war until they exterminate the white race in the revolutionary States, and the last fighting man and the last dollar from our freemen in the free Northern States. There should be no temporizing expedients resorted to, but vote in one solid Democratic phalanx against the amendment. If the administration and their accessories, who were the means of inaugurating this civil war, and who continue its programme with such pertinacity, bringing ruin and desolation in its path, I say if they 'scape "unwhipt of justice," then adieu to "*Liberty, Union* and *Fraternity*," "FAREWELL, A LONG FAREWELL TO ALL OUR GREATNESS."

Speech of Hon. A. M. P. V. H. Dickeson.

Mr Speaker:—Though the flesh is weak the spirit moves. I desire to put in my very feeble and not less earnest appeal in behalf of the down-trodden portion of humanity, who are so unfortunate as to have a

black skin. I do not desire to say much. I cannot say much, and could I embody in my plea the logical correctness of a Webster, the ease, grace, and finished delivery of Clay, and the earnestness of Wendell Philips, it would then be unworthy the subject, and would possess no power that could alter your predetermination, or that could enlist your sympathy in behalf of human freedom, as extended to all classes, no matter what the condition or what the color of the cuitcle. I shall vote for it. You will perhaps say I am an Abolitionist. Why should I not be? I represent a district where Abolitionists have existed by the dozen for years; where they were in the majority at the last election, and are in earnest; where even Democrats are heard to say, "Pass the Amendment," and where universal freedom is believed in. Therefore am I an Abolitionist, and, sir, although I am not much at hurling Quaker thunder, would to God that I could hurl such a clap as would bring an Abolition yell from every mouth. Pass the bill and you wipe from the nation the foulest blot that has ever stained her escutcheon. Make this truly the land of the free. Cause to cease the opprobious epithet—"*thou slave*," and allow the blackest man in the country to assert himself a man, rather than *goods*, *chattels* or *a brute*. Slavery is unjust—unjust to the enslaved, and unjust to the free States. It gives to the slave States a property representation and enables them to legislate for its or rather for their benefit and for its sorrow. It degrades mankind and makes the poor the pliant tool in the hands of the designing rich, and will ultimately bring us to destruction.

See the pooor degraded beings who compose so large a part of the rebel prisoners, and behold the effect of slavery, the effect of caste, and look well at the consequences of what will be the eternal damnation of these United States unless forever swept from the land. What have we in common with slavery? What care we who loose by its extinction? Are we so servile as to bow down to the master and worship? Does not that monitor within every man call—call loudly upon us in behalf of the poor oppressed and force us to lend an ear to its piteous cry?

"Forced from home and all its pleasures,
Afric's coast I left forlon;
To increase a stranger's treasures,
O'er the raging billows born,
Men from England bought and sold me,
Paid my price in paltry gold;
But though slave they have enroll'd me,
Minds are never to be sold.

"Still in thought as free as ever,
What are England's rights I ask,
Me from my delights to sever?
Me to torture, me to task?
Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim;
Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in white and black the same.

"Why did all-creating Nature
Make the plant for which we toil?
Sighs must fan it, tears must water,
Sweat of ours must dress the soil,
Think ye masters iron-hearted,
Lolling at your jovial boards,
Think how many backs have smarted
For the sweets your cane affords.

"Is there, as ye sometimes tell us,
Is there One who reigns on high?
Has he bid you buy and sell us,
Speaking from His throne, the sky?
Ask Him, if your knotted scourges,
Matches, blood-extorting screws,
Are the means that duty urges
Agents of His will to use.

"Hark! He answers—wild tornadoes,
Strewing yonder sea with wrecks;
Wresting towns, plantations, meadows,
Are the voice with which He speaks,
He, foreseeing what vexations
Afric's sons should undergo,
Fixed their tyrant's habitations
Where His whirlwinds answer—No!

"By our blood in Afric wasted,
Ere our necks received the chain;
By the miseries that we tasted,
Crossing in your barks the main,
By our sufferings since ye brought us
To the man-degrading mart,
All sustained by patience, taught us
Only by a broken heart.

"Deem our nation brutes no longer,
'Till some reason ye shall find
Worthier of regard, and stronger
Than the color of our kind.
Slaves of gold, whose sordid dealings
Tarnish all your boasted powers,
Prove that you have human feelings,
Ere you proudly question ours!"

Man is born free, and of right should remain free. There is no power that is in justice competent to make a slave. As well try to oppose the gale at sea with a canvass barrier as try to enslave a man with any shadow of justice. It is alleged that it is a bible doctrine. A bible doctrine! As well say because sin was permitted that it too is a bible doctrine. As well say that the conduct of Judas Iscariot is a bible doctrine and make the bible a book only fit for the use of devils.

Slavery is not a Bible doctrine. Because it was permitted, is no evidence that it is right. It is not in consonance with the golden rule, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." Whenever any thing does not accord with that, we may with great propriety suspect that there is something wrong somewhere. It has been a curse in a pecuniary point of view to this country, and so will be, so long as we allow it to exist. It is claimed to be the corner-stone of the Rebellion, and if for no other purpose shall we not wipe it out. Would you save the Union, would you preserve our vast dominions intact, do you wish to have a country that may be called a country, and above all a free country? If so, pass this bill. We have before boasted of a free country, a vain-glorious boast, an empty name, a high sounding phrase, only calculated to deceive and mislead. Let us have such a country. Let us work for such a country and we will have it. Let the glad tidings ring from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Let us not be stumbling blocks in the way of the march of civilization. Slavery is a curse unworthy our people and unworthy the age in which we live. Rid ourselves of it and we advance fifty years in civilization, and the slave States are advanced a hundred. If there is one thing about the mother country I admire, it is that a slave cannot breath British air. Let us imitate her example, and turn our attention to manufactures, rather than to "likely niggers." Make the interests of the country one. Abolish slavery and substitute manufactures, and you settle the quarrel between free trade and the tariff. Abolish slavery and you do all to make this country a great country, and this people a great people.

Speech of Hon. H. J. Irick.

Mr. Speaker:—I did not intend, sir, to inflict upon this House a speech or an apology of a speech, upon the grave and momentous question now before us, and little sir, did I think that the opponents of this measure would resort to the miserable and desecrating arguments and to excite the popular mind in a political canvass? upon a matter so serious and solemn as the one now before us, as some of their speakers have used upon this occasion. I should feel recreant to the high trust reposed in me by my constituents, were I not to raise my humble voice in defence of this amendment which is to confirm the total abolition of one of the most baneful, if not the greatest curse, which ever befel any people, but more especially this land of ours, the home of universal freedom.

It is evident, sir, to every ordinary person, man, woman and child, who can read, that we are but following the very letter of the law as laid down to us in the Constitution of our country in our action upon

this bill. The line of policy that we are to follow is laid down to us, and sir, I look upon the actions of the opposition of this House, in referring this bill to a vote of the people, as an artful dodge, by which to put off the day of judgment, which to them will, if they persist in their menial and prejudicial course, be the means of sinking themselves and their once time honored party so deep that not a vestige of its greatness will be left to hide its shame, nor a voice to sing its funeral requiem. I call sir, upon my Democratic friends of this House, to pause and consider the great responsibility resting upon them, before casting their votes against the measure now before us. Not only, sir, does the fate of their political status rest upon the votes they are about to give, but sir, the future greatness, prosperity, peace and Union of our beloved country. I cannot sir, bring my mind to believe that the noble band of patriots who framed our Constitution intended to entail upon their children this curse of slavery, much less to foster it in the provisions of that act for which the opposition profess so much love, and for which they have done so mnch to make necessary the amendment to its provisions that this bill sets forth.

As my friend from Burlington has said, the debate on this subject has not been confined to its latitude. We have had the plaintive, persuasive argument, the flowery and prosaic emanation, carrying us from the mountain sides of Somerset to the red plains of Middlesex, in support of an issue and measure buried by the tide of popular feeling among the things of the past, and I cannot see sir, how any man at this day and hour of our national humiliation, can stand upon the floor of this House, erected on ground made sacred by the tread of the great and good Washington and his band of veteran heroes, and seek to put life into the dead carcass of human bondage. It is enough for me, Mr. Speaker, to know that slavery has been the cause of all the bloodshed, of all the misery, which now surrounds us. This fact alone, sir, should cause every true patriot to cast his vote in favor of this amendment which is to remove this curse from the proud pages of our country's future greatness. Let me, entreat you, gentlemen, hearken to the voice of freedom and reason that comes up from every side.

In reply to the argument of the gentleman from Hudson that the popular will of this State was against the doctrine of the dominant party of the country, I refer him to the votes given by a Democratic Legislature at its last session, which stifled the voice of eighteen thousand of her citizens, who according to the ratio in which they voted elsewhere, would have placed the gentleman and his party somewhat in the minority even in this glorious little State of ours. Sir, I hope that the vote of New Jersey will be given in favor of this amendment.

Speech of Hon. John H. Landell.

Mr. Speaker:—In this country the slavery of the negro has complicated our public affairs until we are engaged in civil war. And now, a trumpet is sounding over the land, proclaiming freedom to four million human beings—and is being echoed back to this hall from several States, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights of liberty. Sir, we know that parties exist, and that they are unavoidable in free countries, and are useful, if they acknowledge the country above themselves, and remain within the sanctity of the fundamental law which protects the enjoyment of liberty prepared for all within its sacred domains. But sir, party has no meaning in far the greatest number of the highest and the commonest relations of human life. When we are sick we do not take medicine by party prescription, we do not take our chosen ones to our bosoms by party demarcation. I have never known but one man to pray for our daily bread by party distinction. Nor do we eat or drink, sleep or wake as partizans. We know no party in our present troubles. Mr. Speaker, while I yield my convictions to the more experienced judgement of other gentlemen upon the floor with great deference upon most questions, I must be permitted to entertain the opinion that the passage of this bill is just, that the debate has necessarily kindled a party prejudice and feeling, by fanning the embers of old issues destined soon to be buried beneath the ashes of civil war. But while I think it would have been better to have "given our thoughts no tongue" but simply a *vote*. Yet we should so conduct the discussion that our acts may not shame our words.

We know, sir, that the peculiar institution gave way gradually as civilization advanced, and has done so in all periods of history, and especially of Christian history. Slavery melts away like snow before the rays of rising civilization. The South envied the North for getting rid of slavery so easily, and often expressed her envy; but, sir, a combination of circumstances led the South to change her mind. First it was maintained that if slavery is an evil it was their affair, and no one else had a right to discuss or to interfere with it—then it came to be maintained that it was no evil—then slavery came to be declared an important national element which required its own distinct representation and especial protection—then it was said that slavery was a divine institution. Some thirty odd years ago we first heard of Southern rights, and at a later period we were first made familiar with the expression of Southern principles, and within a few years Southern civilization has been proclaimed. What else remains, but to invent Southern mathematics, and to decree a Southern God, to which their Northern sympathizers may bow. I hold, sir, that a slave is a rational human being, with volition and understanding like the rest of mankind.

The question of slavery whatever its moral excellence as a system may be, there is no doubt, that while men are men, it will excite the most angry disturbances and differences as it has ever done, until it has

ended in war. The fundamental law of the land provides a perfectly plain method of emancipation and of consequent removal of this source of vital irritation. In the very presence of the terrible mischief it has occasioned, it might be thought that every legislator, from the highest motives of expediency would favor its lawful Constitutional disappearance, and yet, sir, we have seen on this floor a captious opposition to this bill by Democrats, *or friends of equal rights and fair play*, who have voted to delay the simple proposition of the National Congress whether slavery shall be abolished. This Union was launched into being upon the broad principle of human liberty and equity. By the very declaration of the Independence of this Republic, it was proclaimed that, "these truths are self-evident that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights of liberty." Little, sir,, did the venerable sages from the North and from the South, who proclaimed that doctrine upon that occasion, dream that in a little more than three-quarters of a century it should be proclaimed that slavery was a good, a positive good, and as such was to be perpetuated and extended, and that this once happy country was to be destroyed for this great good.

Now, sir, we have been accused of fanaticism; but do our accusers know that there is a fanaticism that "Out Herod's Herod," that overtops all others. The human mind is frail, temptations are powerful. We may weep over it, but still it remains a melancholy fact, and it will be a sorrowful record for these gentleman who oppose this fundamental law of God, nature and the Constitution under which we live, for no service that these gentlemen can render the State, no protesting enthusiasm for the Union and the Government, no noisy gasconade about *liberty* and man, *equal rights* and *fair play* can conceal the disgraceful fact, that while the war which slavery has produced holds us all steeped in blood to the lips, and emperils civilization itself, men vote to continue the very cause of all our woes.

We know that in every action of one body upon another there is an equal and contrary reaction, that is, it declares the general fact that if events occur, the constitution of things under which we exist is such that another event will also occur—the continuance of slavery brought war, the destruction of it will bring peace.

Now, sir, if our government were purely national, a majority of the people could amend the Constitution, if purely federal, it would require a concurrence of each State of the Union, but being a combination of both, a majority of the votes of the Legislatures or Conventions of three-fourths of the States, was fixed upon by the framers of the Government as a compromise method of amendment. Here I apprehend is the cause of our divergence upon this overshadowing question. We take one side or the other according as our reading, associations, and habits of thought have led us to give prominence to the federal or national element.

I apprehend, sir, that some who have participated in this debate have sat at the feet of the great South Carolina Gamaliel, till they have become masters, prepared, not only to teach, but to originate new refinements, and to enlarge, in that torpid and pestilent school of political

philosophy. If our Union is simply a confederation of independant and sovereign States, and not a government *de facto*, if it is only the agent of State governments, exercising for their convenience and advantage certain powers delegated by themselves for specified ends, then clearly no change in the instrument into which such powers are framed can Constitutionally be made, as will enlarge or limit the legitimate scope or functions of the General Government by encroachments upon the reserved powers of the States.

Assuming that the States had an independent existence, and an unlimited sovereignty previous to the foundation of the General Government, and that the General Government, rests upon certain powers voluntarily surrendered for the purpose of securing the object specified in the preamble to the Constitution, it will follow as an unavoidable sequence that neither three-fourths nor any number of States can constitutionally take from a State any part of the independence and sovereignty not voluntarily surrendered up.

If on this theory the right to amend the Constitution given to three-fourths of the States covers that reserve of corners, then it follows that three-fourths of the States have the right to establish slavery, autocracy or idolatry in New Jersey, against the will and the moral convictions of every citizen of the State, and in violation of her sovereignty.

If their theory is correct there can be no treason of individuals against the General Government, for States only, and not individuals owe allegience to that Government, as States cannot be imprisoned or executed, not only does the language of the Constitution become meaningless and absurd, but the fatal crime itself shirks the retribution which the voice of humanity and outraged justice demands. It will be remembered that three leading systems of Government were propounded —a federal system by Patterson, of New Jersey, a mixed system by Randolph, of Virginia, and a purely national system by Hamilton, of New York—that finally adopted was a mixed system in which the national largely predominated.

If our Government was purely confederate, the consent of each party to the contract would be necessary to an amendment of the Constitution—if it were purely National, a major vote of the whole people would make it binding upon all, though the unanimous vote of either section were against it for the organic law is their Legislature.

But being a mixture of both, the people have made it the law, that the major votes of three-quarters of the States, however given to any amendment shall be binding upon all, and the right of Congress to recommend amendments by prescribed methods is as broad as the right of amendment itself.

Justice, tranquility, defence, the general welfare, are the ends of Government. And are there any limitations in the Constitution to amendments to secure these objects? To say that this power is limited by the Constisution, however or whenever expressed or implied is as indefinite as to say that extension is limited by space.

Sir, does these gentlemen know that each and every branch of our Government, State or National, were under a most solemn covenant

with one of the great nations of the earth to use our best endeavors to abolish Slavery. Now, Sir, I understand a treaty made by the treaty making power, to be the solemn and permanent law of this land. The treaty to which I refer is the 10th article of the treaty of Ghent, of the 24th December, 1814, made by the United States on the one side, and his Brittanic Majesty on the other, the words of which are: "10th article, whereas the traffic in Slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas, both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of contributing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed, that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object."

GAMBIER,
HENRY GOULBURN,
WM. ADAMS,
J. Q. ADAMS,
J. A. BAYARD,
H. CLAY,
JONATHAN RUPETS,
ALBERT GALLATIN.

Signed, Dec. 24th, 1814.

This treaty so long dishonored on our part, was most faithfully obeyed on the part of Great Brittain, and they immediately began to adopt measures for the subversion of Slavery as a system in the West Indies, which culminated in the emancipation of August 1st, 1837. When that eventful day at last came, and instead of blood and insurrection, as prophesied by the selfish and cowardly, the blacks throughout the British West Indies, to the number of 800,000 human beings, who had been Slaves, met in the evening of the 31st of July, 1837 and then continued in a solemn and quiet manner until the moment of midnight came, when the bells of the Churches of the British West Indies struck and played from Island to Island, while the cannon were roaring throughout the Great Antilles. They were the glorious peals of freedom. No mortal tongue or pen can describe the overflowing ecstacies of these naked and scourged bondsmen, now standing up as British freemen—Slaves no more. They sung, they cried, they danced, and thus in wild and rapturous joy they passed the terrific bourne so long wished for by them. But the first drop of the white man's blood has not been shed by these deeply abused people. Sir, it was a sight never to be forgotten by me, who was an eye-witness to the scene.

And now Sir, shall we whose eyes are rivetted upon the grassless trenches, where hundreds of thousands of our brave and glorious children sleep in their blood-stained coats of war, in this hour of our great peril, forego this essential privilege through a morbid pity, and a suspicious regard for the Constitutional rights of men who have fore-sworn the Constitution, forfeited every right under the Government and who claim nothing at the hand of justice but the penalty of treason?

The future will comprehend the import and grandeur of this great struggle between the antagonistic forces of Freedom and Slavery as we

cannot, and will be amazed and humbled as they read the record we this day make on this great question. The voices of our murdered heroes, sleeping on a hundred victorious battle-fields in rebellious States, and still other voices from the dim but glorious hereafter of our history call upon us for immediate action. We must meet our responsibilities like men, who are willing to assist their country and their honors by rightfully asserting that "All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain natural and unalienable rights."

Speech of Hon. Rufus F. Harrison.

Mr. Speaker:—The question of amending the Constitution of the United States, is one that demands our serious and deliberate consideration. Never before has there been a question presented to the Legislature of the State of New Jersey of such magnitude as the one now presented. It is simply to amend the Constitution so that slavery or involuntary servitude (except for the punishment of crime), shall forever be abolished within the jurisdiction of the United States.

I propose to consider briefly, the argument of our opponents: 1st. The Constitution as it is.

2d. The constitutionality of these amendments.

3d. The expediency of passing these amendments.

I propose now to consider the dogma, "The Constitution as it is:"—This objection made by our pro-slavery friends is not consonant with their former teachings. Their past record will prove that they have ever been ready to amend the Constitution, whenever such amendment proposed to extend and strengthen the institution of slavery. Their history is written indelibly, eternally—No expunging assertion can ever obliterate their record. I assert without fear of contradiction, that each individual member of this House who is now opposing this Constitutional amendment, was a strong advocate of the Crittenden amendments. What Republican escaped the vituperation of the Democrats who differed with them regarding those amendments? How often have the prejudices and passions of the masses been appealed to by our Constitutional worshippers, because these amendments were not adopted by Congress, and submitted to them for their ratification? In order to refresh their memory let us see what those amendments propose to do: Article 1st proposes that in all the terriory of the United States now held or hereafter to be acquired south of 36 deg. 30 min., slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance.

Art. 2. That Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, &c.

ART. 3. That Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery, in the District of Columbia, &c.

ART. 4. That Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one state to another or to a territory in which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea.

ART. 5. Provides for the payment of fugitive slaves, &c.

ART. 6. Provides that no future amendments to the Constitution shall affect the foregoing articles.

Now, sir, here are six distinct propositions proposed as amendments to the Constitution, in order to perpetuate and establish slavery, and these propositions met the entire approbation of our pro-slavery friends, and with the advocacy of these propositions, they make some very important admissions. They all become Republicans admitting their former heresies, and plant themselves squarely on the Chicago platform of 1860. What are their admissions, 1st. That slavery in the territories of the United States does not exist by virtue of the Constitution. 2d. That Congress does have the right to interfere and prohibit slavery in the territories. 3d. That it is not protected as property in the territories under the Constitution. 4th. That Congress has the power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction. 5th. That Congress has the right to hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, &c. If, sir, I have been instructed in the principles of the Republican party correctly, I must pronounce these views of our friends of the Constitution orthordox, but I am sorry to say that as soon as they become properly instructed in the plain teachings of the Constitution of our fathers, they at once and with one accord commenced to cry out "Away with it! Away with it!" "We will not have it to rule over us!" And hence they all became advocates of these amendments, tearing and rending assunder that instrument that to-day they worship with so much reverence. Yes, sir, the virgin soil of all our territory that we then had or might hereafter acquire south of 36 deg. 30 min., must be sacrificed to this demon-god, slavery. This territory purchased by our treasure and our blood must have the mark of Cain upon its brow, and be cursed with the curse of curses, human slavery; our liberty loving, labor loving, slavery hating yeomanry of the North, if they wish to avail themselves of some portion of this fair domain must bow their knee in submission to this vile demon, but a mere submission would not be sufficient, his franchise, his wealth, his influence must all bend to the stern decree, that slavery shall be protected by the territorial government thereof. But, sir, these amendments did not pass either House of Congress. History records them and there they will remain to enlighten coming generations of the strength of the slaveholders rebellion against the Constitution of our fathers.

Perhaps I should refresh the memory of our Constitutional friends of one other amendment to the Constitution, that was introduced in Congress some time after, I allude to C. S. Vallandigham's. His amendment proposed to divide the United States into four Sections or Con-

federacies, viz: the Northern, the Western, the Pacific and the Southern. I shall not enter in detail into this radical measure to amend and destroy the Constitution of this great apostle of secession. Suffice it to say his name was raised upon the banners of his party as being the great I am of Democracy—soon after receiving the unanimous nomination for Governor of his State by the Democratic party. Perhaps I should be ungenerous to assert that his infamous amendments received the approbation of all our Constitutional friends. But Sir, if we are justified in judging men by their acts, we must conclude by the zeal and sympathy they manifested in his election, that they approved of every act of his life. One would hardly have supposed that after our Constitutional friends had so vigorously and persistently labored to alter and amend the Constitution in order to perpetuate and extend Slavery, that they now should hold up their hands in holy abhorrence at the propositions now under consideration of abolishing Slavery.

The honorable gentleman from Middlesex after expatiating upon the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was, in strains that would almost melt the heart of a stone, finally proposes that as soon as the Slave-holders rebellion shall be crushed, and each individnal State shall be re-instated in the Union, as it was, and under the Constitution as it is—he then would, without hesitation vote for amendments to the Constitution. Wherever it says we the people, he would say we the white people; and where it says, including those bound to service, he would amend by rendering all those who are slaves; where servants are mentioned, that to must be amended to read slaves. I merely allude to this portion of his speech to illustrate how much devotion he has to the Constitution as it is, when by amending the Constitution it would strengthen Slavery. Now, Sir, when we reflect with what jealous care the framers of the Constitution watched every sentence incorporated in the Constitution, so that Slavery should be hidden from our view, being covered over by the great mantle of domestic institutions, and that this instrument so formed and submitted to public opinion, should no where reveal the fact that Slavery had an existence. Surely Sir, the honorable gentleman has lost his devotion, not only to the Constitution as it is, but also to those immortal men who framed it. When the time arrives that his amendments are adopted, which I trust never will be, I ask the reverend gentleman, as he ascends the sacred desk to preach glad tidings of peace and good will to men, that he give out the following stanzas:

All hail the power of Slavery's name,
  Let Freedom prostrate fall,
Bring forth the yoke and galling chains,
  And crown it Lord of all.

Ye chosen band of Freedom's race,
  Your Liberty is gone,
Bow down and take your manacles,
  And crown it Lord of all.

As the gentleman is something of a poet, I suggest to him to add

more stanzas if he chooses so to do. And if he will allow a humble Layman to close with a short prayer, I will most devoutly pray that the Lord may have mercy on his poor soul.

3d. The Constitutionality of these amendments.—We are told by the gentlemen on the other side that these amendments are unconstitutional. Now Sir, I deny their authority to decide this question. I want better authority. The Constitution creates a power whose opinions I am bound to respect. The Supreme Court of the United States is the only power that can decide this question legally. Congress has submitted these amendments to us by a two-third vote for our ratification or rejection. We may vote aye or nay, or dodge the question, but we can't decide the Constitutionality of these amendments. There is no question but that both Houses of Congress are of the opinion that we have the right to amend the Constitution. Surely when two-thirds of both Houses so decide, including many life-long Democrats, such decision should be entitled to much weight. If, Sir, we have a Constitutional right to amend the Constitution so as to create, protect and extend slavery where it does not exist, surely we should have the power to amend the Constitution so as to abolish the institution where it does exist. This argument of unconstitutionality used by our opponents is about worn out, it is an old story, thread-bare and without force. It is amusing to think of how many Constitutional expounders we have among us, every city, town or village has its scores, men of all classes, conditions, or nations, for the want of a better argument will resort to this, many of them seem to have a kind of inspiration or instinct teaching them certain fundamental principles underlying our body politic before they have learned to speak our language or to read the instrument expounded, and as an effect of these Constitutional expounders Gov. Seymour's friends attempted to resist the draft by creating a bloody and cruel riot in the streets of New York City, hanging innocent women and children and destroying millions worth of property. Experience has taught us the lesson that too many Constitutional expounders are dangerous to our national welfare. Therefore, I do not propose to enter into the argument of the Constitutionality of these amendments. When they are ratified by the requisite number of States, if they are unconstitutional, the proper tribunal can so decide.

The Expediency of these Amendments.—Our fathers of the revolution, when they assembled in Independence Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, for the purpose of framing the Constittution, declared—"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." From 1787 to 1860 this Constitution secured to us a good government, the arts and sciences, commerce and agriculture, made rapid strides; education, civilization and religion prevailed and spread throughout the land, our population increased from three to thirty millions, we became a great and powerful nation, respected at home and abroad. But notwithstanding our unprecedented

prosperity we had one disturbing element to our "perfect union and domestic tranquility." The framers of the Constitution were perplexed with it, for it was to their view a domestic as well as peculiar institution, they denounced it, cursed it, and believed that it would soon die out, they had already passed the ordinance of 1787, declaring that the institution should forever be prohibited from entering any of the territories then belonging to the United States, and soon after in the formation of the Constitution they authorized Congress to prohibit the internal as well as foreign slave trade after the year 1808. But, sir, its hidden roots had been propagating in the prolific soil of the sordid passions of men from whence it had drawn its nourishment. It soon demanded the protection of our government, and it received it, the political organizations of the day became entangled in its coils and were led captive at its will. It came in contact with free opinions, free speech, free press, free schools, and the free North. Our church organizations, bible societies, tract societies, and many other benevolent associations, were torn assunder, and among all denominations of Christians it was the source of contentions, bickerings, and fault findings, our wisest and best statesmen endeavored to harmonize the discordant elements, compromises were entered into but without effect, the conflict was irrepressible, slavery and liberty, antagonistic in their nature could not harmonize. The history of the institution of slavery has been one of continual warfare upon the peace and harmony of these States; it has for its love of power embroiled us in wars cruel and unjustifiable; it has cast its sable mantle over a large portion of our fair domain and blighted the prospects of thousands of freemen; it has caused strife and dissensions among us as a people; it has reduced millions of the white race to a hopeless state of ignorance and licentiousness; it has disgraced us in the eyes of all civilized nations on the face of the earth; it has robbed man of manhood, and though created in the image of his Maker, it has placed him in the scale with the chattel; it has abrogated family and marriage relations and instituted concubinage instead thereof; it has demanded that it should be recognised as a civilizing and Christianizing institution with all its attributes; it has attempted to overthrow our Government, the best the sun ever shown upon; it instigated traitors to fire upon our glorious old flag on the Star of the West, at Fort Sumpter; it stole our forts, custom-houses, arsenals and shipyards; it erected a sham confederacy out of eleven States of our Union, making itself the corner stone thereof; it has caused the lives of hundreds of thousands of our young men to be sacrificed upon the altar of their country; it has involved us in a debt of thousands of millions of dollars, and thrown upon the cold charities of the world thousands of cripples and orphans; it has introduced the habiliments of mourning into every household for the loss of one they held so dear. Now, sir, I charge all this and more on this domestic institution, "slavery." Thomas Jefferson, the father of Democracy, must have had a prophetic manifestation when he declared that God had not an atribute that would sides with slavery, and that he trembled for his country when he considered that God was just. How righteous has been our punishment.

We have in this, our country's trial, received our just deserts. And now, Sir, as the fortunes of war have nearly exterminated this our national sin, shall we again hug it to our bosoms and nourish and protect it to be again chastised. Shall we again call down the wrath of the Almighty God upon us as a nation to punish us for our injustice toward our fellow beings. Shall we again suffer the manacles and chains of slavery to be riveted upon millions of those who have been our friends and allies through this wicked rebellion, and who are now imploring us to save them and their posterity from cruel bondage. Shall we again introduce this bone of contention into our churches, to disturb their harmony and their spiritual growth. Shall we yet have it in our political conversations causing contention and heart burnings between different sections of our country. Shall the conflict between slavery and liberty be continued and again endanger the perpetuity of our Government, or shall we the representatives of New Jersey be governed by the great principles enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, "That all men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain inailable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Shall we take the side of poor suffering humanity, unloose the chains of slavery upon millions of unfortunates and millions more unborn and let the oppressed go free, and that too when our sister States are beckoning to us to lend our hand in rolling forward the great car of reedom to crush and anihilate the last vestage of human slavery in our beloved land, when our brave and gallant Jersey boys, whose proud record is written on many a battle-field, are petitioning and entreating us to take sides with Liberty and Union.

When our gallant little State has the eyes of all Christendom fixed upon her to see her join the proud galaxy of her sister States in wiping out the foul stain from our national escutcheon, and proclaiming liberty and justice throughout the length and breadth of our beloved land, when slavery has raised its traitorous and suicidal hand to overthrow that Government that has protected it and us so long. Shall we the members of this Legislature maintain the honor and reputation of ourselves and our constituents and throw off the shackles of party, and place New Jersey where she ever ought to be, on the side of freedom and Union? I trust, Sir, that when the question is put we will give these amendments a unanimous ratification, and that our votes may be recorded for the advancement of all that freemen hold dear.

Speech of Hon. William M. Iliff.

Mr. Speaker:—The Constitution of the United States, demands the highest admiration of my intellect. The oath which I have taken to uphold it is binding upon me; and I am called upon, through evil and

through good report, through whatever storm of popular disfavor to stand by it as I understand it. I love my whole country, South as well as North, and no act of mine shall retard the restoration of peace, or the reconstruction of that Union which made it all my country. It was the spirit of toleration and liberality in the Constitution that gave us our high position among the nations; our institutions, political and religious; and invited the inhabitants of all the lands of the earth to visit our shores and become inhabitants of our once happy country.

No other nation has ever increased in population, in wealth, and in improvements as rapidly as the United States of America under our Constitution. The motto is inscribed upon our banner "United we Stand"—experience is teaching us that "Divided we Fall."

In time of peace and prosperity, our Constitution like the sun, has reflected its rays equally upon all. It has caused the Sunny South, with its institutions adapted to its wants and its climate, to produce the material to clothe the people at home and abroad. It has caused our Eastern manufacturing towns to spring up in quick succession, and the inhabitants to sustain themselves, and accumulate wealth and affluence. It has caused our Middle and Western States to blossom as the rose and to produce the staff of life to feed the millions of our own inhabitants and export enough to feed millions more. If then, under this Constitution, we have arrived at our present position as a nation, why should we alter, why amend? What right have we to legislate slavery out of Delaware, Kentucky, or any other State. In the year eighteen hundred New Jersey had twelve thousand four hundred slaves. In eighteen hundred and twenty, New Jersey abolished slavery within its bounds. Our State then, as now, considered slavery a local institution, and enacted laws accordingly. Did any Southern State protest against the abolition of slavery in New Jersey? No! They conceded the right to us. Should we not then act in the same spirit to them. Why should we attempt to disturb an institution sanctioned by Washington the Father of his Country. I fancy I see the immmortal Washington, looking down from the portals of Heaven, and if tears could fall in that happy place, how the great depths of his heart would be broken up to see his State, the State of Virginia, once foremost in every good work, now rent assunder by civil war. And while her cities are burned and her soil laid waste, the present administration is adding fuel to the fire by attempting to tear from her and from all the Southern States an institution which they held under the Constitution and which was participated in by the Father of his country. As the gentleman from Camden was quoting extracts from speeches delivered at various times by Washington, Patrick Henry, Clay and others, I found that my views agreed with theirs. They never advocated immediate emancipation and they never asked for an amendment to the Constitution. They deplored the existence of the institution of slavery—so do I—and am willing that any State should liberate their slaves when they think best.

Permit me to draw an illustration from nature: If we should pass in one day from the heat of summer to the frost of winter, death to man, beast, and vegetation would ensue. But nature has so ordered it that

we may pass gradually and unharmed—so may slavery. Yes, the work has been progressing for years, and State after State has freed their slaves from Massachusetts to Delaware. In the name of that great patriot and statesman Henry Clay, I would implore my Republican friends to remember the past. Thrice by efforts of conciliation he averted the horrors of civil war. First upon the Missouri question in 1820. Then in 1832 in the Senate by his action upon the tariff, with eloquence which stirred the nation's heart and had a controlling influence over both Houses of Congress, he again stopped the threatened effusion of human blood. And in the great compromise question of 1850, by his eloquence, his power, his wisdom, his social influence, as well as by his inspiration in debate and by the respect which all portions of this country had for that great and illustrious man, civil war was again averted from our then happy land. Let us learn wisdom from ancient Greece and Rome, republics of much longer standing than ours. While thespirit of toleration and liberty existed they were happy and prosperous in the pursuit of their domestic avocations, but when war and commotion became their principal business and the liberal policy of the Cæsars was forgotten by those nations, the laurels faded from their brow and their nationality became extinct. Let us learn wisdom from the past, and let State rights and State institutions alone; never plead "military necessity" for destroying either the Constitution under which we have lived and prospered, or the sacred rights of our enemies.

Have the States no rights? When did they ever surrender those rights? Find for us a resolution or enactment of any Legisture resigning one of their rights? The States existed before the Union. The Declaration of Independence says that the Colonies are and by right ought to be free and independent States. They were so treated with by England herself and the other powers of the world and should be so treated by us. I warn my Republican friends not to interfere with State Rights lest they plunge the Northern States also in war and blood.

Speech of Hon. Thomas B. Peddie.

Mr. Speaker:—Before giving my vote on this question, I desire to state briefly the reasons that actuate me on this great, grand and glorious occasion. I feel proud, Mr. Speaker, to-day, I feel doubly proud that I am about having an opportunity to record my vote for this just, wise and humane measure. This vote I cheerfully and gladly give, and I thank God that I can this day testify to you and the world my utter horror and detestation of human bondage, and I feel grateful to my constituents for sending me here; it is one of the happiest days of my life; it is worth living for, nay Sir, it is worth dying for, it will repay

us for all the turmoil and trouble of the last four years. Truly sir, the morning light—the light of freedom—is breaking over the world. In conclusion I will only add that I trust that New Jersey will appear in that galaxy of stars voting for the Constitutional amendment.

Speech of Hon. James D. Cleaver.

Mr. Speaker:—During the debate in this House upon the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, I have repeatedly asked myself whether it was a reality, or some hideous fever-begotten dream, that gentlemen should use upon this floor, and deliberately and dispassionately avow the sentiments which have been uttered here.

Methinks no one would have dared to attribute such sentiments to these gentlemen in advance of their avowals for fear of slandering them. And more than all, and above all, how pitiable, how sad it is to hear the declarations of the gentleman from Middlesex! Indeed, he is an extremist—not to say *a fanatic*. And when I hear him proclaiming his desire to amend the Constitution of the United States in such a manner as to recognize and ordain *slavery—human bondage—traffic in flesh and blood*—together with all the damning concomitants of this remorseless institution, I cannot avoid exclaiming, truly and sincerely—pity the errors of the poor old man whose trembling limbs have borne him to this Hall! His wild vagaries upon the "Divinity of Slavery," are too shocking for contemplation—let them not be remembered in judgment against him. The mantle of charity is wide and grand in its proportions, its most extended amplitude is needed to compass the fearful bounds of his creed.

The question we are to answer to our constituents; to the world; to our own consciences; is this—

Ought slavery to perish in this nation?

And, sir, when I hear the question raised I feel bewildered that to-day, in this land, and under our boasted free institutions, such a question has to be propounded, and demands a reply. When I remember what we are as a nation; whence our origin; and how the United States of America came to be a *power* among the people of the earth, I seem lost in amazement, that in the ear of a listening world, from the remotest corners of which come the jubilant songs of dis-enthralled humanity, we should in the latter part of the nineteenth century, be placed at the bar of public opinion to say whether we are willing that "*all* men" should enjoy those "certain inalienable rights" of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," with which they have been endowed by the Great Father of all.

Why should slavery *not* be stricken down? Has it not deserved to be? Has it not been, is it not to-day, the great element of desolation

to us as a nation? Whether you examine it morally, socially, politically or economically, has its fruits not been like gall and wormwood; like fire and tempest; like blight and noon-day pestilence to us?

I desire to treat the subject calmly and unbiased by prejudice. And looking at this monstrous abnormal outgrowth upon the body politic of a free country, I can see in it nothing but *evil*, and that continually. I do not propose to lift the veil which only partially conceals its deformities, and exhibit how it has, and ever must while it lives, poison the morals, deteriorate the social status and prostitute the political virtue of that people which tolerates its existence. Until to America is given a Thomas Moore, the hideous features of this modern Mokannah will never be displayed to its devilish votaries.

If it has wrought moral death—if it has debauched the political sentiments of those who have hugged it to their bosoms and worshipped at its vestal shrine. These things, bad as they are, are not its chief offence. While its baneful influences were confined to those who, under a blind passion coveted its presence because it ministered to their ease and pandered to their passions, it may not have been right for us to touch it with the exercising wand of national law, even though we wept over the folly of its victims.

But when it was no longer content to wield its sway over those who recognized its right to rule—when it looked with avaricious eye upon the fair territory of freedom—left its own limits, and boldly essayed to bring under its terrible thrall those portions of our land dedicated to free labor and free men—then it was no longer entitled to immunity at the hands of those whose heritage it strove to grasp.

It was a local, a "peculiar institution," and as such could, in my judgment, claim to be "let alone" by the political powers of the land. It was not satisfied to be "let alone" within its own borders. It was not willing to remain a local thing. It aspired to tread the Council Halls of the nation. It wielded the concentrated power it controlled to shape the legislation of a free people. It arrogated to itself the right to mould to its own use the strength, the influence, the growing power of a continent of freemen. It stepped with defiant mien into the courts of justice and dictated her decrees. It laid its iron hand upon the Chair of the Chief Magistrate of the United States, and by its nod Presidents were made or unmade. It cared nothing for party, as party, save only so far as this or that political organization bid highest for its favors. It dug the political graves of the two prominent parties of the country, and having used them by turns until, vampire-like, it had sucked their last drop of life-blood and exhausted their last spasmodic sign of vitality, contemptuously kicked them into their ready made sepulchres. *Requiescat in pace.*

It remained within the Union until its aggressions and demands aroused a spirit of opposition to its tyranny which culminated in the election of a President who was not pledged to its behests, but who *was* bound to defend its rights as well as the rights of all others, and then it cooly turned upon its heel and repudiated "the Union, the Constitution and the laws," and set up a Confederacy, of which, we have

been told by its Vice-President, that it, *slavery*, was the corner stone.

Claiming to be the personification of honor, it participated in an election under the law, *organized its own defeat*, and then declared itself exonerated from all fealty to the government, and all allegiance to the country, because of that defect. It deliberately and systematically arranged for and carried into operation the grandest wholesale robbery of public property and works ever known.

Boasting of its high toned chivalry, and supreme magnanimity, it trained its stolen, shotted guns upon Sumter and the dear old flag, and having starved into submission the heroic Anderson and his brave men, it insultingly tore down the ensign of the nation to which its allegiance was due, and ran up the traitorous "stars and bars." (Where now, is Sumter—and what, to say, is Charleston?) From then until to-day it has waged relentless war upon our *nationality;* and how that war has been prosecuted in its behalf I need not tell you. But up from the dungeons of the reeking Libby—from the unknown graves of our brave soldiers, there is going up, and will go up for all time, a volume of agony and outrage, of torture and malignant cruelty, which, reaching the ear of Omnipotence must call down upon this master spirit of wrong the wrath of Him who hath said, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay."

Ought slavery to perish in this nation? Has it promoted the welfare, the advancement, the honor of the United States? Has it developed the greatness of our resources, or added to the common weal? These questions are sufficiently answered by the asking.

Compare the degradation, the unthrift, the ignorance, the wasted lands, exhausted by unskilled tillage, which bore ample but withering testimony to the withering power of slavery in the South, even before the red hot plough-share of war had sent its scorching blade through her land. Compare these with the almost miraculous up-burst of prosperity in the North, where enterprise and energy were not poisoned by the Upas tree of slavery overshadowing our institutions. See how here plenty, intelligence, thrift, industry, and improved husbandry, lifted our people up and bore them on, crowning every new effort with renewed success, and storing the homes and the hearts of our toiling masses with plenty and joy.

"Look on that picture, and then on this." See yonder our "erring Southern brethren" hugging to their bosoms the adder which was and is stinging them to death, and robbing them of their manhood; and then behold here the children of toil, rejoicing in their strength, and proudly carving out, each his own happiness and fortune. There you can see the disciples of slip-shod elegance, with their tasselled trappings; here you may look upon the apostles of True Labor, who blush not to earn their own bread, and who glory in their independence.

That is the haughty, black-blooded Southern; *this* the "mud-sill" of the North. That is a tattered type of the past—this the true substance of a *man* of the present day.

What is the cause of the difference? I have a firm conviction that it arises solely from the presence of Slavery in the former case, and from its absence in the latter. And so, without stumbling over the

misty paths of the far off Past—without plunging into the theological abysses wherein it has been discovered that the great I AM is "a pro-slavery God," who approves of, and rejoices in the enslavement and bitter oppression of His own creatures. Without seeking out some devious path by which to walk around the Divine attributes of Truth and Justice and Mercy—and thus evade the vanity of the human race and the Fatherhood of God, in order to defend an institution which is defenceless at all points, except as a caterer to the lowest lusts and vilest passions born of the human heart—I come to the conclusion that *Slavery ought to die.*

It has been arraigned by the sentiment of the Age—it has pleaded guilty—the judgment of the world is against it—it only awaits the hand of the Executioner. The means of putting it away are provided in the instrument which gave it legal life. Let it die the death.

The right and the power to dispatch it in this way are both undoubted. The simple question of expediency remains, and it seems to me that what it has done, and what it may again do to us, as a nation, should settle that point at once and forever, and this too without reference to the blacks. I have not considered the subject at all in connection with its effects upon them—I envy not him who, for any cause, can find it in his heart to say, by word or deed, "the negro has no rights which the white man is bound to respect." The cruel and heathenish barbarism of the spirit which animates such a dogma as that, is a blistering disgrace to human nature.

How can we forget the long suffering of this oppressed race—how can we see them, generation after generation, inheritors from the cradle to the grave, of the shackle and the lash, as their only reward for life-long toil, and yet withhold from them our sympathy? Does might make right? Ought this terrible despotism that rules over them to the uttermost, in every relation of life, and in every emotion of the heart, to be perpetuated? God Almighty forbid. Every consideration—whether of Justice or of Mercy; whether of manhood or of honor; whether of principle or of policy—it seems to me, calls upon us to-day to obliterate from our Nations' escutcheon this dark and bloody relic of barbarism.

"We are living, we are dwelling,
In a grand and awful time,
In an age on ages telling;
To be living is sublime."

And in the glorious onward march of human progress, we, of all the world, ought not to be in the rear-guard. Our privileges and our opportunities are unequalled by any other people; and just in the same proportion does our responsibilities exceed theirs.

Let us move onward the hand upon the dial of history—let us strike one more blow for *universal freedom*—let us vindicate the sublime truisms of the immortal Declaration of Independence, and obey the golden rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Speech of Hon. Nathan S. Abbott.

[Note by the Printer.—The original manuscript of Mr. Abbott's speech failed to reach us. From the lapse of time, it was impossible to replace it, and the following report is that taken by the Reporter of the State Gazette at the time of the delivery, with such corrections as Mr. Abbott's recollections enabled him to make. The delay thus occasioned has caused this speech to be printed out of its regular order: it should follow that of Mr. Dickeson.]

Mr. Speaker—After the long debate that has occupied the House for two days, the grounds upon which the ratification of the amendment to the National Constitution for the abolition of human slavery is urged, have been very thoroughly discussed, and it is very difficult to say anything on the subject which has not been said already; but on such an occasion as this, I feel it to be a duty to present, briefly, the views that will govern me in the vote I am about to cast. Believing slavery to be evil, and only evil—a wrong and a curse, both to the owner and slave—and entertaining no doubt whatever of the power to amend the Federal Constitution, so as to abolish the evil at once and forever, I shall give my vote for the resolutions ratifying this amendment on the part of New Jersey. And I rejoice that I am permitted to place my name upon the record in behalf of this great and beneficent reform.

Yesterday, the gentleman from Middlesex, (Mr. Goble,) in the course of an elaborate speech in opposition to the resolutions, and in defence of the institution of slavery, incautiously betrayed that sympathy with treason and rebellion that seems inseparable from a toleration of slavery as it exists in the States now in rebellion. Among other things, he said:

"When Jefferson Davis went out of the Union, he done us much harm! He committed a great blunder, a great evil; but not the hundredth part that Abraham Lincoln has by staying in. Davis went out of the Temple of Liberty, but left it standing, not a stone was removed from its place, not a timber from its fastening. Lincoln stays in the temple, but says, 'Jeff, are you out?' 'Yes,' he replies, 'I am out' 'Well,' says Lincoln, 'then I will demolish this temple, so that you can never come back again, so that there will be no place to come back to, no temple to come into, and worship as did our fathers. I will remove timber after timber, and stone after stone of the great superstructure, till I reach the foundation (the Constitution,) and I will plough that until there is not left one stone upon another, that is not cast down.'"

And this in opposition to an amendment to the Constitution intended to make the Union free, in fact as in name—to purify American air until no slave can breathe it! The gentleman from Middlesex seems to regard the Temple of Liberty as built solely for the shelter of slaves—drive out the slaves, and the temple falls. In common with the

traitors of the South, he looks upon human slavery as "the corner-stone of Republican liberty." Remove the corner-stone, and the whole fabric falls in ruins to the ground! For that gentleman is not opposed to all "tampering" with the Constitution. He is quite willing to amend that instrument in the interest of slavery. In the preamble he would amend so that it should read: "We, the *white* people," instead of "We, the people of the United States," &c. He would also amend so as to substitute the word, "slave" or "slaves," for "persons held to service," and would give new facilities for the recovery of slaves who flee from bondage, and would, in short, consent to any amendment that would strengthen, build up and perpetuate the accursed system. All amendments in aid of slavery are, in his judgment, right and expedient; they would add new strength and beauty to the "Temple of Liberty." It is only when it is proposed to abolish the institution, that his tender conscience is troubled with doubts.—The Constitution then becomes a sacred thing, constructed by the Fathers of the Republic, and not to be touched with profane hands. To make all men free—to give to them those unalienable rights with which they are endowed by their Creator—"Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," is to destroy the Constitution; to tear down the "Temple of Liberty." Such inconsistency is unavoidable in any defence of this "sum of all villanies," as American slavery was justly denominated by John Wesley, but I confess that I feel some surprise at hearing such sentiments proceed from the lips of the gentleman from Middlesex. I had not believed that such sentiments could be entertained by a man of his profession.

He would not lay his lightest touch upon the fabric of the Constitution to destroy slavery, but he is willing to pervert its whole spirit, to change and deform it in a dozen places to give new guarantees to the instititution that is the groundwork and foundation of the most infamous rebellion the world ever saw. Is this a work for American legislators? Shall it be said that at this day, when even the despotisms of Russia and Turkey are freeing themselves from the stain of slavery, that an American legislature favored plans for strengthening it, and refused to abolish it in the manner pointed out by the Constitution itself? I trust not; I hope that the Legislature of New Jersey will not prove false to the great history of our State by refusing to aid in this beneficent work.

The gentleman from Hudson (Mr. L. Abbett), opposes the ratification resolutions, because, as he says, the proposed amendment is a violation of State Rights—that the abolition of slavery is a question which can only be dealt with by the separate States, each State acting for itself. I admit, Mr. Speaker, that States have rights which ought to be respected, but the Federal Government—the government of all the States—has rights which take precedence. New Jersey has her rights—she has the right to ratify this amendment, and aid in the great work of freedom—she has a right to do right, and God grant that she may exercise this right.

The States in adopting the Federal Constitution agreed to be bound

by its provisions, and one of those provisions not only admits amendments, but prescribes the manner in which they shall be made. The fifth article of the Constitution reads as follows:—

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

There can be little doubt that the framers of the Constitution in inserting this provision believed that one of the amendmenments to be adopted at no distant day would be the very one now under consideration. Those great and patriotic men deplored the existence of slavery, but regarded it as a temporary evil which, in the progress of events, and the increasing population and prosperity of the nation, would soon be swept away. For this reason they refused to use the words "slave" or "slavery" in any part of the immortal instrument they framed. Many of the members of the Constitutional Convention were also members of the Continental Congress, which body had just adopted the Ordinance for the Government of the Northwestern Territory by which slavery was forever abolished in all the territory north of the Ohio river. The same spirit that actuated them in the adoption of this "Ordinance of Freedom," actuated them in forming the Constitution, and though it was not then possible to immediately abolish slavery by national action, they took care to leave the way open for those who came after them to accomplish the good work.

That time has now come. The proposed amendment has been adopted by a Constitutional majority in both Houses of Congress, and has already been ratified by a number of the States, and I am glad to be able to say that in the final vote in the House of Representatives, sixteen Democratic members recorded their votes in its favor, and yet we find here on this floor, the strictest party discipline instituted to defeat the measure, and hear gentlemen appealing to the party feeling of Democratic members to vote against the resolutions! A portion of the Democratic party (and it seems a very influential and powerful portion in New Jersey), still clings to slavery as if it never meant to yield it up. They fold it to their hearts, and hold to it as the most precious jewel of their political inheritance. They are ready and willing to amend the Constitution in every other particular, but to strike down slavery, they will not strike out, add, or alter a word. Can this be true Democracy? Can this be the Democracy taught by Jefferson and the great founders of the party?

Mr. Speaker: The right and power to amend the Constitution can-

not be questioned or doubted, and what amendment can be more important or more imperatively demanded than this now submitted to us for our consideration and action, to abolish the system of human slavery, that system which has been the principal cause of all our troubles and misery. From the very formation of the government slavery has been the cause of contention and sectional strife, until at last its iniquity has culminated in treason and bloody rebellion. But a few years ago the slaveholding aristocrats dared to threaten that if a certain candidate for the Presidency should be elected, they would not submit to the choice of the people legally ascertained, but would rend the Union asunder and plunge the nation into all the horrors of civil war. This has been the spirit of slavery from the first; it had ruled the nation by threats, and when it could rule no longer, it attempted to destroy the Union to which it was bound by repeated pledges and by unnumbered benefits. It was slavery that caused and commenced the war; it was slavery that fired upon Fort Sumpter, that has since laid Charleston in ruins, and desolated the fairest fields of the South. It is this great national crime—this source of all the evils that we have suffered and now suffer, that we are called upon to strike down by an amendment to the Constitution made in the manner laid down by that instrument. Can we hesitate or doubt as to the course that duty points out, as to the vote that patriotism and conscience demands?

Few men can be found who will venture to defend slavery, except indirectly; but such a defence has been attempted upon this floor. To that I will not reply. The man who, at this day, can defend the enslavement of human beings is deaf to argument. But I trust that the representatives of the people of New Jersey are too well convinced of the iniquity of slavery as it exists in the Southern States, to doubt that it is their duty to aid, to the full extent of their power, in its speedy and final destruction. The opinions of the Fathers of the Republic—of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and the host of great names that adorn our history, have been so lately quoted here that I will not repeat them, but will content myself with again calling the attention of the House to the unanimous condemnation uttered by the founders of the Union and authors of the Constitution of this system which we are called upon to exterminate. We cannot go far wrong when we follow in the footsteps of such men. I will, however, with the permission of the House, read a single extract from a letter written by a German author to a friend in this country, a few years ago—before the commencement of the Rebellion:

"Consider that the cause of American liberty is the cause of universal liberty; its failure, a triumph of despotism everywhere. Remember that while American liberty is the great argument of European Democracy, American slavery is the greater argument of its despotism. Remember that all our actions should be governed by the golden rule, whether individual, social, or political; and no government, and above all, no republican government, is safe in the hands of men that practically deny that rule.—Will you support by your vote a system that recognises property of man in man? A system which sanctions the sale of the child by its own father,

regardless of the purpose of the buyer? What need is there to present to you the unmitigated wrong of slavery? It is the shame of our age that argument is needed against slavery.

"Liberty is no exclusive property; it is the property of mankind of all ages. She is immortal; though crushed, can never die; though banished, she will return; though fettered, she will yet be free."

Is not this the universal judgment of enlightened and liberal minds throughout the world? And since that letter was written, slavery has added to all its former crimes, the deadly crime of treason and rebellion. It is condemned by the jury of the world, its crimes against liberty, the Union and Republican Government, are manifold, open and defiant. It has merited death, and let it die that the nation may live. I appeal to you, gentlemen on both sides of this chamber, to forget political and party prejudices, and join as one man in this great work of Freedom. Let it go upon the records of this Legislature that during this session the Constitutional amendment definitely abolishing slavery was ratified, and it will be remembered with pride through all the ages of history. But if, on the other hand, these resolutions should be defeated, the record of those by whom the defeat is accomplished will form a dark blot upon our annals not to be effaced. The power to thus amend the Constitution is clear, the duty to do so cannot be questioned, and I will yet hope that New Jersey will not continue to stand out for slavery when even Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia, and Tennessee, are ridding themselves of it.

Speech of Hon. Daniel Cory.

Mr. Speaker:—I have listened with profound attention to the speeches delivered by the gentlemen on the opposite side of this House on what they call an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, for some logical and constitutional argument in favor of its adoption, but, sir, I have listened in vain. The whole burden of their speeches has been "the moral evil of slavery," "the accursed institution originating from Hell," "the sin of sins and the sum of all villainies." When the gentleman from Cumberland (Mr. Nixon), who is a lawyer, took the floor to reply to the constitutional argument on State rights and State sovereignty, made by the gentleman from Hudson, (Mr. Abbett), I expected to hear a sound and logical argument in favor of this amendment based upon the Constitution. But he disposed of the argument of the gentleman from Hudson in a most summary manner by declaring that "the doctrine of State rights and State sovereignty is ignored," and then, like the gentlemen who had preceded him, spoke in favor of the amendment upon the grounds of humanity, oppression, and the moral evil of slavery; and I must say that our young

member from Hudson, proved himself to be the Achilles in debate. The principal argument of the gentleman was "if oppression is wrong slavery is wrong." This appears to be a very good argument, but it is not equal to the argument of the Chief Magistrate who said "if slavery is not wrong nothing is wrong." There is logic for you; that is what may be called a regular knock down argument, for we can prove that some things are wrong, and one is that it would be wrong for twenty-seven partners in trade to vote away one-third of the property of nine equal partners in trade without their consent and without compensation, and it would be as grossly wrong for twenty-seven States to vote away one-third of the property of nine States without their consent and without compensation. No man would desire to hold property of any kind that could be taken from him at any time by the will or caprice of another.

The gentleman quoted from Blackstone, and he knows that Blackstone says that all human laws, that are just and right, are founded on the Divine law. Now let us examine the Divine law and see how it agrees with the assertions of the gentlemen who are so anxious to adopt this amendment. Paul says where there is no law there can be no transgression, and, therefore, whatsoever the Bible does not condemn or denounce as sin, or wrong, cannot be sin, and must be right. And now to the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to these, it is because there is no light in them. "And God said unto Moses, from Mount Sinai, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If thy brother, a Hebrew, wax poor and be sold unto thee he shall not serve as a bond-servant, six years he shall serve, and the seventh he shall go out free for nothing, for they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Both thy bondmen and bondmaids which thou shalt have shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever." Here is the institution of American slavery. And who dare say God enacted a statute from that solemn and awful Mount, that was the "sin of sins," and the "sum of all villanies," but a base infidel and blasphemer? The abolition party complain of, and denounce chattle slavery in the South. By what authority do they do this? Not by the authority of God, for he said to Moses from the same Mount, Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them: "if a man shall smite his man-servant or maid-servant, with a rod and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished for he is his money." Is money a chattle? then the slave is made a chattle by the statute of God. "If an ox shall push a man-servant or a maid-servant, the ox shall be stoned, and the owner of the ox shall pay to their master thirty shekels of silver." Why not pay the money to the person injured? Because property was scrupulously protected by the Divine law, and reparation must be made to the owner of the property. The bond servant had privileges that were granted to the hired servant, because it was a family relation. "If

the priest had bought any soul with his money he should eat of the holy thing, and every man's servant that is bought for money shall eat the passover; but a foreigner or a hired servant shall not eat of the holy thing or the passover." The Abolition-Republican party denounce the institution of slavery because they say it separates families. What is the statute of God on this subject? It is this: "If thou buy a Hebrew servant and his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children, then his master shall bring him unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him forever." The Hebrew servant could not enjoy the society of his wife and children, unless he became a slave for life, under the Divine law. The love for his master is first named, and therefore, must be paramount to his love for his wife and his children, to grant him this privilege. This statute teaches that the servant's love for his master must be like the love of the servants of God for their master in heaven, more than they love father or mother or wife or children, or they cannot enjoy the society of the saints in light. And hence, when Christ taught his disciples their duty, he said unto them, "Which of you, having a servant, plowing or feeding cattle, will say unto him, by and by, when he is come from the field, go and sit down to meat. And will not rather say unto him, make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterwards thou shalt eat and drink. Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, 'We are unprofitable servants.'"

The doctrine here taught by Christ is, that the master does not even owe so much as thanks to his servant for doing the things that were commanded him, but that any benefit or reward that was bestowed upon him was all of the master's bounty, and not for any merit of the servant. And by this he illustrates the relation between God and his servants. That any blessings or benefits bestowed upon them by their Master is all of His goodness, mercy and bounty, and not for any merit in them.

The disciples understood this doctrine perfectly, for they were addressed as having servants or slaves of their own, showing the wisdom of Christ in selecting this subject to teach them their duty. A certain centurion applied to Christ to heal his servant or slave. Did he hesitate? No. He said, "I will come and heal him," although he had twice before refused to go to the house of a nobleman to heal his son. But the centurion said, "I am not worthy that you should come under my roof. I am a man in authority. I say to one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; speak the word, and it shall be done." Did Christ say unto him that it was sinful to hold slaves, and that he must liberate them or he could not enter into the kingdom of Heaven? He did not. What did he say? He said "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." This man showed great humility and great faith in Christ, and this was a fine opportunity lost, if the institu-

tion of slavery is what the abolition preachers and party say it is. Paley's Philosophy, which is taught to our young men and young ladies, says that the institution of slavery was so firmly established in the Roman Empire when Christ was on earth, that he dare not say anything against it, for fear he would not be able to fulfill his mission, which was to establish Christianity. Is not this a libel on the character of Christ? Did he not denounce every sin in the most emphatic manner? He told the chief priests, Scribes and Pharisees, that they were like whited sepulchres, which appeared fair unto men, but within were full of rottenness and dead men's bones. The public mind and the religious mind has been abused on this subject by the abolition clergy. They are the original secessionists of this country. Eighteen or twenty years ago, through their teaching, the great body of Northern Christians seceded from the Church South, and made us two nations in fact. Christianity teaches that you should do good unto all men, and especially to the household of faith. If you could not fellowship your Southern brethren and live in communion with them, how did you expect the people of the world would remain together? The only reason that can be assigned for their remaining together so much longer than you did, is, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." Like the Pharisees of old, who taught that you must have no dealings with him, for he is a Samaritan, so you have taught that we must have no dealings with the South, for they are slaveholders, ever since you have seceded from them. What consistency is there in your preaching, now, that the last dollar must be spent, and the last man sacrificed, to bring them back? always reserving, no doubt, that your dollar is the last to be spent, and you the last man to be sacrificed. By what authority do you preach war and bloodshed from the pulpit? Not by your commission to preach the gospel. I read that it entered into the heart of David, a Christian and a prophet, to build a house to be dedicated to the worship of God. But God sent his prophet to him to tell him that he should not build his house, and gave, as a reason, "that he had been a man of war, and had shed blood; that he had shed much blood on the face of the earth in his sight." Was this a good reason? It must have been, for it was God's reason. The message to be promulgated from its sacred desk was, "Glory to God in the highest; peace on earth, good will to man." If God would not permit a man to build this house, whose hands were stained with human gore, how dare you preach that doctrine from the sanctuary? Paul said, "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified," which is the sum and substance of the Gospel. When Christ was applied to by a man to cause his brother to divide the inheritance with him, he replied, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" This was not his business. They had judges appointed by the civil authority to attend to these things, and Christ would not interfere with their prerogative. And what right have you, as ministers of the Gospel, to be meddling with secular affairs, and preaching desolation and death for the abolition of slavery? Paul's instruction to Timothy, a young minister, on this subject is,

"Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor. These things teach and exhort." Why should he teach and exhort thus? The reason given is, "that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." There were abolitionists in the apostle's day. They taught the doctrine that, when a bond-servant or slave became converted to Christianity, he had the same rights as the Hebrew servant, and was entitled to his freedom at the end of six years, teaching that Christianity destroyed civil rights and the right of property; the same doctrine which the abolition clergy teach at the present day, and which the apostle denounced as blasphemy. If Christianity destroyed civil rights, and the rights of property, it could not be established in any country on the face of the earth; but on the contrary it protects civil rights and the rights of property. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Paul, in all his epistles, in speaking of relative duties, commences with the duties of wives to their husbands, then the duties of husbands to their wives; next, the duties of children to their parents, then the duties of the parents to their children; and lastly, the duties of bond-servants or slaves to their masters, and then the duties of masters to their bond-servants or slaves, proving clearly that the institution of slavery is a family relation. The Apostle Peter commands servants to be obedient to their masters, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. Although the master may be peevish, fretful and petulant, it does not release the slave from his obligation to obey his master, any more than it does the child to obey his parent.

[Here the member from Camden, (Mr. Brinck,) asked the member from Somerset if he would inform him where he could find the word "slave" in the New Testament? The member from Somerset replied, in the eighteenth chapter of Revelations.]

Zeal is good, if it is according to knowledge; but some men think that zeal, enthusiasm and fanaticism, is Christianity. The abolition clergy are the poorest politicians in the world. They cannot agree upon the question of baptism. Our Presbyterian friends say that sprinkling is the only mode; our Baptist friends say that dipping is the only mode, while our Methodist friends, more accommodating than the others, will sprinkle, pour, or dip. They read that God says His word shall not return unto Him void, that it shall accomplish the purpose whereunto it was sent. They become very zealous in a cause, and mistake their own word for the word of God. It is a kind of inspiration, like that of Mahomet, who ravaged three continents with fire and sword. Do you want any proof that you are poor politicians? I refer you to the Crusades, when the pulpits of Europe resounded with the call to arms to drive the infidels from the Holy Land. Peter the Hermit, being inquired of, what preparation was necessary to provision the vast multitude who had assembled under the Banner of the Cross, replied that it was not necessary to have any commissariat; being engaged in such a holy cause, God would provide for them by the way, as He did for the children of Israel in the Wilderness. What was the result? They died by starvation, and were slaughtered by the people,

whose countries they plundered and laid waste as they passed through; and you could trace for years and years their devious way by their bleaching bones. How many converts have you baptised since you have been preaching war and bloodshed, desolation and death, to carry on this abolition crusade? So few that it appears that Christianity has been banished from the land. You preach that we must have no compromise with rebels in arms. Where do you learn that doctrine? Not in the Gospel. Whenever you enter the pulpit to preach a Gospel sermon, a large portion of your hearers are rebels in arms against the government of God. How are you instructed by Him to preach to them? You are commanded to say to these rebels in arms, "We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God." "Ambassador" is a public minister of the highest rank that can be sent by one nation to another to settle difficulties. If this is a good doctrine to preach to rebels in arms against the government of God—and it must be, for it is God's doctrine—why would it not be a good doctrine to preach to rebels in arms against the government of man? I like to hear the Gospel preached, and when it is preached in its purity it will have the desired effect, and converts will be multiplied throughout the land, and we would see it yielding the peaceable fruits of righteousness instead of a holocaust to Satan. It is your duty to preach to the people in reference to this war; but how shall you preach to them? In this manner: That God has a controversy with this people, that one of the most terrible judgments that ever visited any people is upon us, and that we should humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and repent of our sins in dust and ashes, and clothe ourselves in sackcloth, as did the Ninevites, and pray for our enemies and those that despitefully use and persecute us; do justice, love mercy, and clothe ourselves with humility, as with a garment. If this doctrine had been preached, the war would have ended long ago. Do you see any humility among the people? No. Judgments are not removed from nations until they are humbled, even if they were brought upon them by the ministers and clergy, as David brought them upon his nation by numbering the people. The North will be humbled as well as the South. This is in reply to the assertions of the members on the opposite side of this House, and also for the special benefit of the abolition clergy, teachers and ministers; and I leave it with them to reconcile their teachings with the teachings of the word of God.

Now to the Constitutional question. The New England abolitionists boast that they are descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race. The Saxons began to be known in history about the second century, when we find them settled beyond the river Elbe, in modern Holstein, near the shores of the North Sea, having for their neighbors the Angles, or English, inhabiting Slesweg proper. These nations were early distinguished as pirates and freebooters. They infested the coasts, and extended their incursions into Britain. The Britons, in the 5th century, imprudently called to their aid the Saxons and Angles to subdue their enemies in the Island. From being friends and allies, they became

their conquerors, and established a government known by the name of the Heptarchy; and the Britons fled from their altars and their hearthstones, and became fugitives in a strange land, to escape from the intolerable yoke of these pirates and freebooters. From this time these two nations were blended in one, and have ever since been known by the euphonious title of "Anglo-Saxons." Is it not a most singular coincidence, that this instinctive and distinctive characteristic should pass down through the vista of fifteen centuries, and then manifest itself with all its ancestral turpitude in their New England descendants, infesting the bays and shores of the Atlantic? By the votes of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, they engrafted upon the Constitution of the United States the privilege of importing Africans into this country, to be sold into slavery for the period of twenty years. And they were sharp enough to engraft into the Constitution a clause preventing the alteration or amendment of this privilege during nearly the whole of that generation. Since that time, the importation of Africans into the United States to be sold into slavery, has been condemned and denounced as piracy, and those engaged in the business, by the statute law of the United States, are condemned to suffer the extreme and ignominious penalty of death by the halter. If it is piracy now, it was piracy then. Poor Gordon, three years ago last February, suffered this penalty for obeying this instinctive propensity he inherited from his Massachusetts ancestors. The New England abolitionists were loud and clamorous for his death, fearing that the Chief Magistrate might interpose his pardoning power and commute the penalty of death for that of imprisonment for life, and thereby lose their victim, who was to be sacrificed to their fanatical hate. These men would not consent to have the commutation clause stricken out of the odious conscription law, until Congress passed a law granting them the privilege to make raids on the plantations, to steal the slaves and sell them to their towns to fill their quotas. I know a gentleman who went down from Somerset to see the working of this legalized system of freebooting, and he wrote home that a man (not the proper term—a freebooter) from Massachusetts, had thirty of these stolen slaves, whom he would sell to any township to fill their quota, that would pay him his price. This is robbery, pillage and plunder. And these freebooting descendants must remember that their loud and hypocritical cries against slavery will not wash out the stains of their piratical ancestors, or eradicate their propensity for plunder and corruption they inherited from them. And as a corollary, these northern abolitionists are the last men to be heeded or trusted in any work of humanity or philanthropy.

They are the corruptionists of the age. "While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption." Who ever heard of a committee on corruption being appointed by Congress before? The "Natick Cobbler," from Massachusetts, said on the floor of the Senate of the United States, that the nations of the earth would take us for a nation of thieves; but he modified it, as he thought, and said a nation of plunderers. If he had confined his remarks to his party,

his position would have been incontrovertible. It is an old adage, that a corrupt party makes a corrupt administration; if this be truth, what must be the incomprehensible depth of the corruption of the party in power? Are these the men to be trusted with the alteration of the sacred compact of the States? I hope not, for their very touch is pollution. We have already degenerated, like the ancient Republic of Rome, into a military despotism, which only retains the name and form of a republic, without its power. The maxims of absolute power then, as now, became the fashionable and favorite doctrine. Civilians taught then publicly, as now, that all the authority of the States and of the people was transferred to the Imperial Chief; that he was superior to the laws; that his power extended to the lives and property of the citizens. If you want proof, look at the acts of Congress, the creature of his will, who even passed this amendment at his bidding. The Constitution has been violated with impunity, and now we are called upon to destroy it altogether.

One of the chief priests of the abolition party, glorifying over the destruction of the city of Charleston, was undecided in his mind, whether it ought to be rebuilt or not; but if a new Phœnix was to rise from its ashes, it should be built by New England men, and based upon New England principles. Why, sir, by whom do you suppose South Carolina was settled? The first settlement ever made in that State was made by a colony from Massachusetts, and the first settlement made on the site of the present smouldering ruins of that city, was made at Oyster Point, at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers. And this accounts for their secession proclivities. Massachusetts voted herself out of the Union at the commencement of the Mexican war, and is still out of it, if she has not rescinded the vote of her Legislature at that time. Massachusetts and South Carolina were the most pestilential States in the Union, and have given us more trouble than all the other States. They were the cause of the Kansas difficulty. Massachusetts the mother, and South Carolina the daughter, the only difference between their children is, that the mothers are abolition-disunionists, and the daughters are fire-eating secessionists. The object of both families have ever been the same—the destruction of the Constitution and the Union.

Some gentlemen have asserted that the general government is the parent of the States; but I do not so read the history of our country. The Colonies under the government of Great Britain, had the right conferred on them by the King, to choose their own Governors, Judges, and Legislative Assemblies, with the power of enacting laws for the regulation of their internal affairs. And so reluctant were the people of the different States, after they had gained their independence, to part with any portion of their power, that the articles of confederation were not adopted or acceded to by all the States, until March, 1781. On application made by some of the States to the Continental Congress for advice relative to the management of their local affairs, Congress advised them to assemble in their respective districts, and to choose delegates to a State Convention, with the power to form a Constitution

for the State. The State Conventions, meeting at different times, and without any concert of action, adopted and agreed upon these general principles: that all power emanated from the people, that the just powers of government were derived from the consent of the governed, and to be exercised for the benefit of the people, by agents or servants chosen by them for limited periods. They lived under the articles of confederation until 1787, they had no executive head, and they had to apply to the different legislatures for the confirmation or adoption of any general policy. This, among other things of general interest, enforced by a formidable insurrection in Massachusetts, threatening the overthrow of the State government, induced the State to listen to a proposition from Virginia, the mother of Presidents, and the cradle of liberty, to call a general convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. The convention assembled in Philadelphia, in May, 1787, and embodied an assemblage of men whose patriotism and statesmanship was as much superior to that of the present rump Congress, as the broad glare of the meridian sun is to the feeble ray of the glimmering star. The powers of the convention were limited to the object of amending the articles of confederation; but the important question, not yet affirmatively decided, was, whether a people were capable of governing themselves without the aid of a monarchy or a military despotism. In the opinion of the convention, after a month's deliberation, nothing could be engrafted upon them to attain the object desired, and they were therefore laid aside. Two of the members from New York went home, supposing that their powers as delegates from their State had ended; but the rest remained, and formed the present Constitution of the United States. The greatest difficulty arose in the formation of the Constitution on the question of representation. The large States claimed a representation according to their population; the small States claimed an equal representation, on the ground that they were independent communities or nations. The convention in their proceedings voted by States, each having one, and an equal vote. It was upon this question of equal representation regardless of numbers, that Doctor Franklin remarked that they had been seeking for wisdom everywhere except where it was to be found, and recommended that they should now apply to the Father of Light for direction, and a compromise was affected by giving the large States a representation in one branch according to numbers, and the small States an equal representation in the Senate. And I think we had better apply to the same source for direction, before we annul this compact at the behest of the corrupt and unscrupulous abolitionists. There had been a practice under the confederation of apportioning the money to be raised for continental purposes, as it was then expressed, among the States, to consider five slaves as equal to three freemen, and as all the States at this time, with one exception, were slave States, this apportionment was agreed to in regard to representation and direct taxes.

The form of government being determined, the next question was to decide what powers were to be conferred upon it, and what were to be retained by the States, and so to define them as to prevent collision.—

The framers of the Constitution knew that the executive power was the encroaching power, and if not properly guarded and restricted, would absorb all the other powers, and in time might over-ride the legislative, judicial, and even the rights of the States. The rights that were thus ceded to the general government by the States were plainly written in the compact, and those that were not were as plainly written in the compact, that they were reserved to the States and to the people. In the formation of government the people give up a portion of their natural rights to be better protected in those that are reserved. It was so with the States, and some of the most important rights that are reserved by the States and the people are, that they shall worship according to the dictates of their consciences, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. When we took the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, we not only swore to support the rights ceded by the States to the general government, but we also swore to support the reserved rights of the States and the people. What right under our oath have we in New Jersey to interfere with the local or internal affairs of any other State? What right have we in this State to vote away one-third of the property of the citizens of another State, without their consent or without compensation? We cannot do it without violating our oaths, and becoming partners with robbers and plunderers. Why, "perfidious Albion," appropriated a hundred millions of dollars to compensate the owners when she freed the slaves in her colonies! What is the relation of the States to the general government? The first is that the States are the parent and the general government the off spring; the next is that the States are sovereign and independent communities or nations in everything relating to their internal affairs, and in everything which they have not ceded or surrendered. When did any one State or any number of States surrender the right to regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way? By what authority then does Congress or any State Legislature attempt to vote away these rights? If this amendment should be adopted by the requisite number of States, and be enforced by this administration, it would violate the whole compact, "for whosoever keeps the whole law, and offends in one point, is guilty of all," "a bargain broken on one side is broken on all sides." That is the true doctrine. If we can vote away the property of other States in this way, what is to prevent three-fourths of the States from voting that a sufficient amount of the property, real and personal, of the other fourth who may be under the ban of their displeasure, shall be confiscated to pay the whole amount of the enormous debt of this abolition war? And I am not sure but this amendment is the entering wedge to accomplish that purpose.

The reign of the Directory in France was an era of corruption and dissoluteness. An unbounded avarice seized the nation, and the Directory encouraged and fed that shameful passion by lending itself to the most infamous traffic. How similar to our own condition! The assig-

nats thrown into circulation there were like the greenbacks thrown into circulation here. And the crown lands and the estates of the Hierarchy were confiscated to pay them; but this was not sufficient, and the Directory had to adopt a system of taxation which the people had not been accustomed to pay—the same that has been adopted by this administration. The language of the abolition-republican party in reference to the present civil war is precisely the same used by Lord North, Granville, Bute, and all those who were in favor of a military despotism, and opposed to the rights of the people in the war of the Revolution. They would have no compromise with rebels. Unconditional submission was the word. They would not receive commissioners appointed by the Continental Congress to treat on terms of peace, for they would not recognize any such authority in the States. And the first year of the war our fathers fought for their rights, and not for separation. But after the war had continued for two or three years, these astute subjugationists were willing to recognize the authority of the Continental Congress, and treat with commissioners appointed by that body. Their propositions came too late, our fathers had made up their minds to fight it out on the line of separation. These men proved to be the worst enemies of their government, for they lost the Colonies to the Crown, and if our abolition-republicans could have their way they would prove the same, for they would by this amendment close up the last avenue by which there is any possibility for the South to return as equals in the Union. If it is adopted, then they are as effectually lost to the Union as the Colonies were to the Crown of Great Britain; and then the only alternative would be separation, or a long and bloody war for subjugation or extermination.

The gentleman from Camden (Mr. Brinck) said, "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, he shall surely be put to death." The last supplement to an act explains the act, as is the law. If the gentleman had turned to the last supplement of this act, which he will find in Deut. xxiv, 7, he will find it reads thus: "If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him or selleth him, then that thief shall die." This supplement relieves the abolitionists, who have stolen fifty millions of dollars worth of slaves from the South and run them off on their under-ground railroad into Canada, from the death penalty, and subjects them only to the penalty of grand larceny, for the bond servant, or slave, is made a chattel by Divine law.

The gentleman from Burlington (Mr. Lathrop) said that this Constitutional Amendment was before the people in the election last fall.—It was before the people of New Jersey last fall with a vengeance, for the abolition despotism at Washington threatened some of the joint companies with the destruction of their chartered rights if they did not carry the State for them. But New Jersey has been faithful to the Constitution from its adoption to the present time. She has had a fugitive Slave law of her own, and has not obstructed the officers of the general government in the performance of their duty in the rendition of fugitive slaves, as some of the abolition States have. The people of

New Jersey cannot be intimidated by the threats of an abolition despotism, nor bribed by shoddy contracts. She rejected the pet scheme of the Chief Magistrate and his abolition cohorts by the largest majority that was ever given before at any Presidential election. And I do not believe that New Jersey will prove unfaithful to the Constitution now. If the abolition despotism at Washington should attempt to build a road across the State to interfere with any chartered rights granted by her, it would be the duty of the Governor to call out the forces of the State, and I would volunteer to assist in driving the invaders from her soil.

There has been a party in this country ever since we gained our independence that has been opposed to our constitutional form of government, and in favor of a military despotism. They came into power under the elder Adams. He only fought for separation, and not for constitutional liberty and personal rights; for he said that the English government was the best ever devised by the wit of man; and he carried out his hatred to our form of government by imprisoning members of Congress, suppressing free speech and the freedom of the press, and imprisoning editors. He did give them a trial, but it was a mere mockery, so much so that the lawyers at last refused to appear in court to advocate the cause of those who were arrested, knowing by sad experience that it was worse than folly to attempt it. That despotism was overthrown by the people at the end of four years, and the Democratic party came into power, and for sixty years their policy, which was a strict construction of the Constitution, avoiding the exercise of doubtful powers, contributed to the peace, prosperity and happiness of the Union. No country ever increased in substantial wealth, population and power with the same rapidity as the United States did under Democratic rule. The history of this country is the history of the Democratic party, and the history of the Democratic party is the history of this country up to 1860, when the present party came into power.—Like their prototype, they have imprisoned members of Congress, destroyed freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, imprisoned editors, kidnapped citizens, male and female, and shut them up in dungeons without even a mock trial, which is an improvement on the despotism of the elder Adams.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot vote for this amendment, and I cannot see how any man can vote for it, unless he is willing that his name shall be handed down to posterity as a perjurer and a freebooter.

During Mr. Cory's speech, the question was asked him whether the word "SLAVE" was to be found in the New Testament, when he replied it was—in the 18th Chap. Revelations.

When he concluded his speech, Mr. Brinck arose, and said he would ask the consent of the House to read the chapter referred to, in which the word "slave" is found, and which appears to bear in a remarkable

degree, upon the scene through which we are now passing, as the character of, and the actors in this Rebellion, are portrayed clearly.—"Slave" is found in the chapter, but in connection with the causes of the downfall of "BABYLON." The chapter—18th of Revelations—reads as follows:

"1. And after these things, I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory.

"2. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

"3. For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

"4. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

"5. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

"6. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

"7. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her; for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.

"8. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.

"9. And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning,

"10. Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city: for in one hour is thy judgment come.

"11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more.

"12. The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyne wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble,

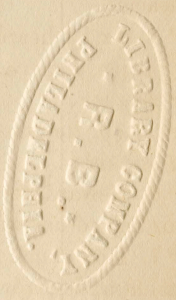
"13. And cinnamon, and odors, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and SLAVES, and souls of men."

At the conclusion of the remarks of Mr. Cory, and the reading of the chapter quoted by Mr. Brinck, Mr. Culver moved the previous question, which was ordered.

The vote was taken and the bill was lost, as follows:

AYES—Messrs. N. S. Abbott, Bates, Beesley, Birdsall, Blauvelt, Bodine, Brinck, Callahan, Cleaver, Crowell (Speaker), Dickeson, Fisher, Green, Harrison, Heulings, Irick, Jarrard, Lake, Landell, Lathrop, Lighthipe, Moore, Nicholson, Nixon, Peddie, Robinson, Staats, Stockton, Van Wagoner, Wilson—30.

NAYS—Messrs. L. Abbett, Allen, Anderson, Boss, Broking, Cory, Coriel, Culver, Demarest, Dougherty, Duryee, Edsall, Goble, Haring, Hoagland, Hoffman, Holmes, W. J. Iliff, W. M. Iliff, Kearney, Kinter, Schenck, Seifferet, Taylor, Treadwell, Van Buskirk, Van Vorst, Weart, Wilever, Young—30.



War
Tracts
1865

EDGAR T. BENNETT